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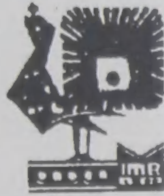
Traveller's Trail



BULLETIN OF INSTITUTE MENEZES BRAGANZA

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Foreword

This collection encapsulates the observations and perceptions of the many European travellers and chroniclers who visited Goa between the 16th and 19th centuries. Amongst the pioneers was the Dutchman John Huyghen Van Linschoten who first sailed for India in April 1583. Amongst his fellow travellers on that journey was Vincente de Fonseca, the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa. On the arrival of the fleet in Goa on September 21, 1583, the Archbishop was 'with great triumph' taken through the city and escorted to his palace. Linschoten's main legacy to subsequent seafarers was his collection of sea-routes to India, Malacca and beyond Malacca in the Malay Archipelago, and up to the Chinese coasts. He was also instrumental in propagating the ideally-placed Java as the headquarters for trade to the Dutch government. The choice of this island was crucial to the rise of Dutch power in the Indies. Linschoten died in 1611, aged 48.

The most colourful of the intrepid travellers was the Italian Pietro Della Valle. Born in 1586, Della Valle was the scion of an illustrious family in Rome. After a voyage to Baghdad in 1616, he married an 18-year-old Assyrian Christian, Maani Giorida. Four years later the young bride died near the Gulf of Ormuz from fever and an unhealthy climate. The grief-stricken Della Valle had her body embalmed and preserved in a coffin. He kept the body on board when his ship arrived in Surat on February 10, 1623. From Surat he travelled up to Calicut - the southern-most tip of his travels in India. He left Goa on 16th November, 1624 for Muscat and from there for Rome, still accompanied by his embalmed wife. Finally he reached Rome in March, 1626. It was only here, after more than three years since her death, that Della Valle buried the remains of his wife in the family vault. He later married his wife's former companion, a Georgian, Maria Tinatin di Ziba, who bore him fourteen sons. He died in 1652. Della Valle was well-versed in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He was haild by Sir Henry Yule as

'the prince of all such who have related their experiences... the most insatiate in curiosity, the most intelligent in apprehension, the fullest and most accurate in description'.

A contemporary of Pietro Della Valle, Francois Pyrard has been described as a 'talkative and observant Frenchman of the seaman class'. Pyrard reached Calicut in 1607 where he was promptly arrested by the Portuguese as he had no valid papers. He had lost them earlier after being shipwrecked off the Maldives, but the obdurate Portuguese threw him in prison. His health fast deteriorating in the dungeon, he was sent in chains to Goa, where he was admitted into the Jesuit Hospital, then acclaimed as one of the finest such institutions in all of Europe and Asia. After his recovery, Pyrard saved himself from further long-term incarceration by volunteering to serve in the Portuguese army. He served as a soldier for two years, during which time he was a keen and watchful observer of the Portuguese and the surrounding environment.

Another Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Tavernier who arrived in Goa more than thirty years later, was a wealthy and famous jewel merchant, dealing mainly in diamonds with Indian royalty, high-ranked Portuguese officials and local businessmen. He spent a week in Goa in 1641 and a further two months seven years later, in 1648 when he noted the marked decline in the prosperity of the Portuguese, some of whom even secretly approached him for alms.

It would be an impoverishing oversight to ignore the travels of the Jesuit priests. In their pursuit of proselytism, they were indefatigable. Their zeal took them across the vast expanse of the subcontinent, into Tibet, Malacca and China. As a commentator has observed, they were in fact the only Europeans in the 16th century (apart from a transitory visit by the Englishman Ralph Fitch) to gain access into the courts of the Moghul Empire. Amongst these great travellers was Fr Anthony Monserrate who was part of the Jesuit Mission to the court of King Akbar in 1580. He was also appointed tutor to Akbar's second son Murad. But despite the long and learned debates in the royal court, the Mission failed in its zealous attempts to woo the eclectic and always attentive and respectful Moghul into the folds of the Catholic faith.

In comparatively more recent times, Richard F Burton, translator of 'A Thousand and One Nights' and author of several scholarly books, expelled much bile on Goa in his racist and misanthropic 'Goa

and the Blue Mountains'. Readers may well wonder what afflictio he suffered from him during his 'Six Months of Sick Leave'. If it is o any consolation, Burton is almost equally caustic with the Whit Sahibs stationed in Ooty. A more sympathetic account of the perioc comes from the French priest, Denis Louis Cottineau de Kloguen whc visited Goa about thirteen years before Burton. He found the clergy though poor, 'most regular and exemplary in their manner' and of the general community he found that 'it would be difficult to find a community... pursuing a more regular, tranquil and moral conduct than that of the present inhabitants of Goa.'

Readers interested in delving into the periods covered here wil find a most comprehensive account in the Goan chronicler Jose Nicolau da Fonseca's book 'An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa', first published in 1878.

- MANOHAR SHETTY

From

'The Land of the Great Image'

by Maurice Collis

(First published in 1945)

The Jesuit Hospital

So many visitors have left records that it is possible to construct Goanese society in some detail. To get the feel of the place, we can hardly do better than listen to Francois Pyrard while he describes his experiences there in 1608. He was a talkative and observant Frenchman of the seaman class, a brave homme, as will be seen, honest and careful. Leaving France in 1601 on board a ship fitted out by the merchants of St. Malo, he was cast away on the Maldives, then an island monarchy, and did not reach Calicut till 1607. Moving south to Cochin, like Calicut a Portuguese fortress, he was arrested because he had no papers and was thrown into prison. From thence, his health much impaired by the dreadful dungeon in which he was confined, they sent him in chains by ship to Goa.

Landing on the wharf near the Viceroy's palace, he expected to be lodged in the main gaol, the Sala das Bragas, and was surprised when out of pity the police took him to the Royal Hospital, a palatial institution controlled by the Jesuits. The Society was the most cultivated and modern element in Goa, and the hospital was administered by them in so admirable a fashion, that many declared it superior even to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome or the Infirmary of the Knights at Malta, the two leading hospitals of Europe at that time. Poor Pyrard, after his rough experiences, thought it a paradise. He was carried up 'a lofty and magnificent staircase' to a bed 'beautifully shaped and lacquered with red varnish', upon which was a mattress and silk coverlet, sheets of fine cotton, pillows of white calico, luxuries unknown in Europe among his class. A barber immediately shaved him, he was given pyjamas, a cap, and slippers, and provided with a bedside table on which was a fan, drinking

water, a clean towel, and a handkerchief. Under the bed he noted a chamber-pot, an article which appeared to him the most satisfactory piece of furniture in the place after his experiences in Cochin gaol, where he had been herded with two hundred others in one room without any sanitary arrangements whatever. Supper brought further pleasant surprises. Each patient was served with a complete fowl, and the plates, bowls, and dishes were of Chinese porcelain, that is, of Ming porcelain, then such a rarity in Europe that Lord Treasurer Burghley thought 'a porringer of white purselyn garnished with gold' a very choice new-year present to give Queen Elizabeth.

When Pyrard felt better, he asked the head Jesuit physician for leave to go, saying that he longed to explore the great city of which he had heard so much. He seemed to think that the charge against him had been withdrawn, but the Jesuit knew better and out of kindness advised him to be in no hurry. Not taking his meaning, Pyrard agreed reluctantly to stay on, and when quite recovered pressed for his discharge. This time it was granted and he descended the grand staircase in the highest spirits. The Father had given him a new suit of clothes, a piece of silver, and his benediction. He had had a good breakfast, though, as he says, he 'little required it for the haste he was in to be off'. So it was a cruel shock when he was accosted by a sergeant at the bottom of the stairs and a warrant was flourished in his face. 'His partisans' - they were giant negro slaves imported from Africa - 'seized me and bore me off in rough sort', he writes.

However, things did not go too badly. In his new clean suit and with the silver piece he won the heart of the gaoler's wife at the Sala das Bragas, for it was there that they took him. Instead of flinging him into the common dungeon where galley-slaves were confined, they put him, thanks to the lady, into a fairly decent room, a wonderful piece of luck, for the dungeon was 'le liue le plus ord et sale qui soit au monde comme ie croy', as he notes in his old-fashioned French.

There existed in Goa a prisoners' welfare society, at the head of which was a Jesuit. This Father came to see him, heard his story, considered that he had been unjustly arrested, since a ship-wrecked mariner can have no papers, and approached Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, the Archbishop and Primate, who was acting as Governor of the Indies, pending the arrival of a new Viceroy. This Augustinian friar, known in ecclesiastical history as the zealot who handed over many Nestorian Christians to the Inquisition, had lately, in his

capacity as Governor, successfully beaten off a Dutch attack on Goa and was in no mood to have any truck with suspicious foreigners. To the Jesuit's solicitations he replied with heat that his protege deserved to hang. Had it not been that the Father persevered, such might have been the fate of the Frenchman. It seems that what turned the scale was his offer to enlist in the army of India.

Life of a Soldier

For two years Pyrard served the Portuguese as a private soldier and has left an account of the way his companions lived. Most of the soldiers were recruited in Portugal. The prospects were good and, as a rule, volunteers came forward, but if they did not, they were pressed, even boys of ten years old being taken, for there was a great shortage of man-power in Portugal which had too small a population to meet the vast demands of its empire. Many of the soldiers were ex-convicts, released for the purpose, and all belonged to the lowest class, but as soon as they landed in India they became gentlemen. 'Des qu'ils sont la,' writes Mocquet, a traveller who arrived in Goa the same year as did Pyrard, 'pour vils et abjets qu'ils soient, ils s'estiment tous fidalques et nobles, changeant leurs noms obscurs a des noms plus illustres.' The real nobility winked at this practice. If Indians could be induced to believe that all Portuguese were aristocrats, or, at least, that all Portuguese in India were gentlemen of quality, so much the better. In this connection Mocquet cites the story of the swineherd, Fernando. On arrival at Goa this rustic followed the current practice and called himself Dom Fernando. One day, riding through the streets, well mounted and magnificently dressed, he met the son of his old master in Portugal. 'Good heavens! Fernando, is that you?' exclaimed the young gentleman. Fernando was put out, he tried to ride past, though it was an effort to pretend not to know his master's son. When the other rallied him: 'Come, come, Fernando, no need to pretend with me!' he could keep it up no longer and sheepishly dismounted. 'But don't tell anyone here,' he begged, as he knelt and paid the customary respects.

The common soldier was able to make this fine appearance for several reasons. His principal occupation was that of marine on board the warships which protected the convoys from the Dutch and the pirates, but during the monsoon from May to October, he lived in Goa as a private person. As there were no barracks, he rented a house

along with a dozen comrades. Clubbing together they bought three or four good suits and engaged a few slaves to wait and cook. At home they would sit about in loose shirts and pyjama trousers, playing the guitar or gossiping with those who passed, but when they went out, which they did in rotation, the grand suits were put on. 'You would say there were lords,' says Pyrard, 'with an income of 10,000 livres, such is their bravery, with their slaves behind them and a man carrying over them a big parasol. There are places where these slaves are to be hired and one can be got for half a day for a copper.'

As they masqueraded in this fashion, they copied to the best of their ability the elaborate manners of their betters. Linschoten, who was at Goa in 1583, has some phrases which show the flourish they aimed at. 'They step very softly and slowly forwards, with a great pride and vain-glorieus majestie,' writes the bluff Dutchman of the way real fidalgos promenaded. When two met, while they were still some paces apart they began 'to stoope with their Hats in their hands, almost touching the ground.' Yet, behind this screen of manners they were watching each other narrowly, ready to take offence at the most trifling lapse in punctilio, such as a less number of bows returned, or the giving of a sober for an extravagant compliment. When such an insult was observed, the wronged man would allow no sign of resentment to escape him, but retiring with a smile would assemble his friends and presently lie in wait for the offender, set on him, and beat him with sandbags and bamboos. There were some even more fatal, who would order their slaves to deal a stab in the back.

Such behaviour having passed into the tradition of our melodrama, it is hard to believe that real people ever conducted themselves so.

Cheap though living was in Goa, the common soldier could hardly have managed on his pay alone to turn himself out so well. But he had another source of income. By 1600 the city was full of half-caste women. For a century the Government had been encouraging mixed marriages and there had also been the freest intercourse with female slaves. It is in the nature of Eurasian women to desire a man of pure European blood. The Portuguese soldiers were, therefore, in great demand. To get a soldier such a woman was prepared to house him, feed him, pay for his clothes, see to his washing, and provide him with pocket-money. No marriage ususally took place, though the Government recognized the relationship to the extent of giving the

children the right to inherit from both parents.

But Pyrard notes that, if a soldier left the house which he shared with his comrades and went to live with a Eurasian mistress, it was not as delightful as it sounded. The girls were temperamental and uncontrolled. They were more jealous and less amenable than either Portuguese or Indian women. Their whole life was to keep the man they had got. But he was surrounded by temptations to infidelity, as there were far more girls than white soldiers. If he yielded to the solicitations of another, or if, tired of his mistress, he sought to terminate the connection, he was in imminent peril. Unless he used the greatest cunning and dissimulation in quitting her, says Pyrard, she would infallibly poison him. What poison they used, Pyrard never precisely discovered. But he describes its effects, which were so curious that, had we not also Linschoten's testimony in addition, it would be hard to believe him. The action of the poison could be delayed by varying the dose. After taking it the victim might go a month, even six months, and be none the worse. Then one day he suddenly fell dead.

A soldier, were he good-looking or had he made a name for himself in fights with the Dutch, might also find women of the upper class eager for his aquaintance. In this class there were more women of mixed blood than of pure European descent. Dressed in a guaze blouse, a flowered skirt, and loose slippers, they idled indoors through the day, listening to the gossip brought in by their slaves, chewing betel or sucking sweetmeats. Even those of pure Portuguese extraction preferred rice to bread and ate curry without a spoon. It was to enliven this existence that they sought the attentions of handsome soldiers. 'They use all the slights and practices they can devise,' says Linschoten, 'by sending out their slaves and baudes by night, and at extraordinary times, over Walls, Hedges, and Ditches, how narrowly soever they were kept and looked unto.' For they were very narrowly kept in a seclusion hardly different from Indian purdah.

To introduce a gallant into the house would have been risky or impossible, had they not known how to use datura, a narcotic weed of the nightshade family, called in Europe stramonium. Administered in quantity it is a poison, but in small doses its narcotic properties merely weaken the will and confuse the intelligence. The husbands of these women, if a soldier-lover were coming to the house, used to be given sufficient of it to render them insensible, not wholly stupefied and sleeping, but rather tranced, and, so, ignorant of what

happened even before their eyes, and when its effects had worn off, of the fact that they had been drugged. Pyrard had a passage describing such a scene. After stating that the datura is put in drink or soup, he says: 'An hour afterwards the husbands became giddy and insensible, singing, laughing, and performing a thousand antics (*singeries*), for they have lost all consciousness and judgement. Then do the wives make use of their time, admitting whom they will, and taking their pleasures in the presence of their husbands, who are aware of nothing.'

Anyone acquainted with the less reputable corners of the East will know that Pyrard was accurately describing what he had seen. Datura is still used by certain oriental women in ways not dissimilar. There are many cases of modern Englishmen who have been reduced to poor tame creatures on being dosed with this drug by their native mistresses.

A Great Lady Goes to Mass

In one of his most evocative passages Pyrard describes a woman of this upper class as she appeared at the Mass, practically her only distraction away from home. The scene is a medley of the Occident and the Orient, of the Latin and the Indian, of the Catholic and the Orient, of the Latin and the Indian, of the Catholic and the Pagan. It is a feast-day, a special occasion, and the lady is 'superbly attired in the Portuguese mode'. Her gown is gold brocade, which glows under a mantle of black silk gauze. She comes riding in a palanquin, seated on a Persian carpet and propped on velvet cusions. On foot behind are a score of maid-servants, slave girls from middle or upper India or negroes from Mozambique, bought for their looks and dressed to set them off in coloured smocks falling to the navel and wide silk pleated scarlet petticoats, some carrying a mat, a carpet, a prayer book, others a handkerchief or a fan. Escorting the palanquin are two Eurasian footmen, handsome and sleek, who at the church door help the lady to alight or, if she prefers to be carried into the nave, are ready there to hand her down.

When such a lady was on her feet, she seemed very tall, for she would be wearing chopines, a patten with a cork sole six inches thick, an extravagant fashion which was carried to fantastical extremes in Venice, and had even reached England, as is evident from Hamlet's exclamation to the actress: 'By'r Lady, your ladyship is nearer Heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine.'

The progress down the aisle then began. Owing to the height of the chopines, and because it was undignified for a person of rank to walk otherwise than slowly, the passage to her seat took some time, as she paced along, leaning on the arms of the two footmen, her air languid, an assumed lassitude. Her maids were gone ahead to get ready her place, spreading her carpet, with a mat on top for coolness, arranging her cushions or sometimes setting a chair. There she would sit in the semi-darkness, for the churches in Goa had mother-of-pearl in place of glass window-panes, which suffused a soft yellowish under-sea light, sit there with her rosary of great gold beads, her pale olive face much painted, watching under her eyes, while her handsome maids fanned her nor dared smile back at their lovers who were signing to them in the shadow.

The life we were describing was the decadence into which the Portuguese fell when, no longer adequately reinforced and supported from home, they were losing the original energy which had driven them east. An oriental conquest, the wealth it brought, mixed marriages on a grand scale, and, perhaps, most deadly, the extensive use of slaves, had transformed the hard-bitten Portuguese of early days, the palandins of the Lusiads, the intrepid navigators, into a luxurious society, still able to hold what it had taken from ill-armed native kingdoms, but losing ground to the Dutch, who were coming upon the scene animated with the same pristine virtues that a century earlier had sustained da Gama and Albuquerque.

Slaves

Many of the slaves in Goa were household slaves. Their treatment was probably no worse than in Indian households. Rather, it was their influence upon their masters that was deplorable. If you walked up the Rua Direita, the great street which ran south from the main wharf at the Arch of the Viceroys, you came after a quarter of a mile to the principal squre, the Terreiro da Sabaio, in whch were the Cathedral, the Senate House, and the Inquisition. On most days of the week a sale of slaves was here taking place. They stood so that you could examine them at your leisure, the dealers drawing attention to the points of their physique and detailing their skill in arts and crafts. 'You see there very pretty and elegant girls and women from all countries in India,' writes Pyrard.'Most of them can play upon instruments, embroider, sew very finely, and do all kinds of work,

such as making sweetmeats, preserves, etcetera.' In spite of their accomplishments they were very cheap, thirty shillings being the average price.

These slaves were docile. Not only did they do all the work of the house for their Portuguese owner, but they helped to support him, in some cases seem to have wholly supported him. They were trained to engage in retail trade on his behalf, selling in the bazaar the fruit and vegetables raised in his garden, or weaving, dyeing, and tailoring materials, from the sale of which a steady income was derived. The female slaves might become his concubines. Pyrard says negresses imported from Africa, 'wondrously black with curly hair', were the favourites in this respect. A grand lady might also make money by letting out her slaves as prostitutes. A certain class of Portuguese and Eurasians specialized in kidnapping for this market young people resident in the Indian states. The slave population in Goa was very great. For Latins the city was a paradise, a lotus-eating island of the blest, where you could sit on your veranda listening to music as the breeze blew in from the sea, with humble folk within call to minister to your every wish. No wonder it was called Golden Goa.

Pride, idleness, luxury and vice had so demoralized the Portuguese that Pyrard, though he tried hard to accommodate himself, found them intolerable. 'I cannot tell all the affronts, insults and ill-usage I suffered there,' he says. 'If they had believed that I so much as thought of recording anything about them, they would never have allowed me to return. I have but little of a high spirit, yet did I lead them to believe that I had much less for fear of giving them a bad opinion of me.'

From

'An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa'

By José Nicolau da Fonseca
(First published in 1878.)

From Chapter IV

In the early 17th century, the population was composed of men of different races and creeds. There were, according to Linschoten, merchants from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, the Moluccas, China, and various other Eastern countries. There were Venetians, Italians, Germans, Flemings, Castilians, and Englishmen, but scarcely any Frenchmen. There was at this time a considerable number of Musalmans, though in the first few years of the Portuguese rule thay had been almost banished from the city. There were also Jews, who had their own synagogues and their own mode of worship, but the Hindus were not allowed the public exercise of their religion. The population of the suburbs must have been considerable, but we have no data from which to calculate the exact number.

The aspect of the city at this time is described by travellers in such glowing terms as to justify the appellation of *'Goa Dourada'* (*'Golden Goa'*) which was given to it, and the proverb "*Quem vio Goa excusa de vér Lisboa,*", i.e., 'Whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisboa." Pyrard writes about it as follows:-

"It is about a hundred and ten years since the Portuguese made themselves masters of this island of Goa, and I have often wondered at the rapidity with which the Portuguese have been able to rear stately edifices, so many churches, convents, palaces, fortresses, and other buildings, after the European fashion; at the internal order, regulations, and government which they have established, and at the power to which they have attained,

everything being managed as in Lisbon itself. This city is the metropolis o the whole of the Portuguese dominions in India, and as such it command considerable power, wealth, and celebrity. The Viceroy has his residenc there, and keeps his court in the style of the King himself. Next in rank to th Viceroy is the Archbishop; we have then the functionaries of the High Cour and those of the Inquisition; besides the Archbishop there is also a Bishop so that the city is the chief seat of religion and justice in India, and every religious order has its superior there. All ships, both of war and commerce belonging to the King of Spain (to whom Portugal was at that time subject set sail from that port... As for the multitude of people, it is a marvel to see the number which go and come every day by sea and land on business o every kind. The princes of India who are on terms of peace and friendship with the Portuguese have almost all of them their ordinary ambassadors there, and often send extraordinary embassies to treat for peace; and the Portuguese also send theirs on their part. And as to the merchants continually going and coming from different parts of the East, one would say that a fair was being held every day for the sale of all sorts of merchandize, and even those princes who are not at peace with the Portuguese do not fail to send their goods and merchandise to Goa through the merchants who are on friendly terms with them... Thus, whoever has been in Goa may say that he has seen the choicest rarities of India, for it is the most famous and celebrated city, on account of its commercial intercourse with people of all nationalities of the East, who bring there the products of their respective countries, articles of merchandize, necessaries of life, and other commodities in great abundance, because every year more than a thousand ships touch there laden with cargo.

The city was intersected with numerous streets, many of which were paved with stones; in the rainy season some of them became impassable; no carriages were seen; in their stead palanquins were used, borne on the shoulders of Boyes. Besides the Rua Direita, the road frequented by merchants, there were many other roads, which were called after the names of the classes of people who resided in them, sometimes also after the nature of the traffic carried on there, so that a traveller says, "It is a great convenience that when anything is needed it is possible to know where to find it." Linschoten describes some of the streets in which pagan merchants lived, many of whom were very rich, having eighty or a hundred thousand *escus* (about £ 20,000). There was one street, says he, full of shops which were crowded not only with cotton and silk dresses and China porcelain, but also with velvet and other piece-goods of Portugal; on the opposite side were other shops where clothes of all sorts and ready-made shirts were sold, for the use not only of the Portuguese, but also of slaves and poor people. In another street lived those who sold wearing apparel and ornaments worn by ladies. The Banniyas were found in

another street with goods of Cambay and precious stones, and were, according to the Dutch traveller, very clever in perforating pearls and corals. There was another street for those who made beds, chairs, and other articles of joinery, which were covered with *laca*, or hard wax, of various colours, presenting a goodly appearance. The goldsmiths and other artizans had their separate streets; and those who collected rents and taxes and acted as brokers had their own square, as had also the pharmaceutics, druggists and petty shopkeepers. There were streets and open squares or bazaars where fowls, fruits and other eatables imported from the neighbouring continent were sold in such abundance that, according to one of the travelers, provisions were there cheaper than in any other part of the world, and "what in France cost fifty *sols* cost less than five in Goa"; in fact "a man could maintain himself with one *tanga* or five *sols* (2d.) a month." These and other comforts probably induced Ralph Fitch to say, notwithstanding his sufferings at Goa, that even if he returned home, he would come back to Goa again.

The buildings along the principal thoroughfare were in general spacious and good-looking; whilst in the interior of the city, far from the noise and bustle of the streets, were to be seen splendid mansions, surrounded by gardens tastefully laid out. Both the houses and mansions were not more than two stories high. There were built of stone and mortar, and covered with tiles. The stone required for ordinary buildings was procured from quarries in the island itself, but for constructing columns and other delicate work it was ordered from Bassein. The houses were painted red or white both outside and inside; they had large staircases and beautiful windows furnished with jetties (*sacadas*). Instead of glass panes the windows had thin polished oyster-shells fitted into wooden frame-work, as is still the fashion in Goa, and were provided with lattice-work, to enable the Portuguese ladies to enjoy the view outside without being exposed to the public gaze. The inner apartments were sufficiently large to admit of free ventilation, and were moreover richly furnished; and there was an attempt at neatness and elegance which lent quite a pleasing aspect to the interior of a dwelling. The principal nobility and gentry had not only their mansions in the city, but also their villas in the suburbs, where they resided occasionally with their families, amidst orchards and groves, bowers and grottos, walks beautifully laid out, and fountains fantastically playing. Here they gave themselves up to

mirth and pleasure, whiling away the time in gossiping, sporting, or playing, reclining on sofas or lolling in chairs, attended by slaves who ministered to their comfort and convenience, some fanning them, others entertaining them with the dulcet sounds of music.

There were no hotels or inns in the city; but there were boarding-houses open to the public, and frequented principally by the lower classes. There were also gaming houses with saloons and chambers most sumptuously furnished, and elegantly decorated. These houses were subject to a licence tax, and were crowded with people of all classes, who repaired thither to enjoy their leisure hours. Those who were inordinately fond of gambling stayed there sometimes for days together, and were provided with board and lodging. They played generally at cards, dice, chess and ball; and whilst they were playing, there were fair damsels ready to entertain them with music and dancing, jugglers to astonish them with their tricks, and buffoons to amuse them with low jests and ridiculous pranks.

It is impossible in a cursory sketch of this kind to give a very minute or detailed description of the city in its palmy days. Suffice it to say that it displayed all the activity and bustle of a great commercial city. Alluding to this circumstance, Talboys Wheeler says:-

"Every morning the sun rose at Goa upon scenes which may be easily realized. The sailors and coolies loading or unloading in the river; the busy shopkeepers displaying their wares; the slaves bringing in the supplies of water and provisions for the day. There was the palace of the Viceroy, surrounded by majestic Fidalgos giving and exchanging the profoundest courtesies. Many were perhaps making their way to the great hall of council, which was hung with pictures of every Viceroy and Governor from Vasco da Gama downwards. There was also the palace of the Archbishop, with a crowd of black-robed priests, missionaries, and clergy of every description, native as well as European. Besides these were the courts and offices of the king's council and chancery, with busy clerks labouring at their desks, but all in grave and stately fashion after the proud manner of the noble Portuguese. Meantime, above the noise of offices and bazaars, the bells were ever ringing from the numerous churches and monasteries, and filling the whole city with an ecclesiastical clangour."

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PORTUGUESE DURING THE PROSPERITY OF THE CITY - THEIR LUXURY AND OSTENTATION - THE MODE OF LIVING OF THEIR LADIES - THEIR MANNER OF APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC, ESPECIALLY AT CHURCH - THE SOLEMNITIES ATTENDANT ON MARRIAGES AND BAPTISM.

To complete the sketch of the city in the days of its prosperity, a short review of the manners and customs of the Portuguese seems necessary. They called themselves fidalgos or noblemen, and never cared to follow any trade or calling. They derived the greater part of their income from the manual labour of their slaves, whose earnings were entirely at their disposal. They had abundant leisure, which they employed in various kinds of diversions, among which may be mentioned equestrian exercises, games with canes and oranges, and boat excursions. The females did not participate in these amusements, but were left at home by their husbands, whose jealousy imposed on them such restraints, that they were seldom allowed to stir out of their private apartments, and, when they did, their movements were closely watched. Such treatment brought about its natural consequences. Excluded from society, and confined within their dwelling-houses, they were not open to any of those influences which are generally at work in civilized countries in elevating the moral character. They passed their time in idle and frivolous pursuits, in singing and playing on musical instruments, gossiping with slaves of either sex, and especially devising means to elude the vigilance of their husbands. For this purpose they generally took into their confidence those very servants who had been kept to watch their conduct, and made them willing instruments for the gratification of their evil propensities. To such an extent did they abandon themselves to these pleasures, that we are told by almost every traveller who visited Goa at this period, that they did not scruple even to stupefy their husbands with narcotic drugs, and admit their paramours into their very bedchambers; and we are further told by Linschoten, that to give zest to those pleasures they made free use of stimulants. Profligacy had become in fact the reigning vice among the higher classes, and their morals were hopelessly corrupt and depraved.

The rich fidalgos always kept a luxurious table, to whic they had the generosity to admit their less fortunate countrymen. The treated their guests to a sumptuous repast, consisting of the riches wines and choicest delicacies served on glittering plate: the tabl literally groaned under the weight of numerous viands, which wer prepared by experts in the culinary art to satisfy their fastidious taste As they feasted, there were slaves in attendance, ready to fan them o entertain them with music. What most distinguished this luxuriou mode of living was the fact, that even in the height of their merrimen the Portuguese never forgot to use wine sparingly: feasting neve bordered on rioting with them, a circumstance to which universal testimony is borne by almost all travellers who visited Goa at this time.

Mandelslo gives the following description of a dinner at which he and the English President of Surat were entertained by a Portuguese gentleman who was appointed Governor of Mozambique:-

"One of the noblest entertainments we had, was that which was made us the 15th of January (1639) by a Portuguese lord, who had been Governor of Bacim and was then newly come to the government of Mozambique. Every course consisted only of four dishes of meat, but they were so often changed, and the meat so excellently well dressed, that I may truly say I never was at the like. For with the meat there was brought such variety of excellent fruits, that by the continual change and intermixture of both, the appetite was sharpened and renewed. But what was most remarkable was that though the Portuguese ladies are as seldom seen as those of the Muscovite and Persians, yet this lord, knowing he could not any way more oblige the English than by allowing them the sight of women, we were served at table by four handsome young maids of Malacca, while he himself was attended by two pages and an eunuch. These maids brought in the meat and filled our wine, and though he himself drunk not any, yet would he have the English treated after their own way, and drink to what height they pleased. Being risen from table, he brought us into a spacious chamber, where he again pressed us to drink, and when the President was to take leave of him he presented him with a noble coverlet of Watte, a quilted covering for a horse, a fair table and a rich cabinet of lacque."

At home, the Portuguese were seen in a plain loose dress. They wore a shirt and fine white breeches, with a light velvet or taffeta cap for their head-dress. The women wore a sort of loose smock called *bájú*, which was so thin as to prove a very insufficient covering for their persons. From the waist downwards they wore a fine cloth

of cotton or silk. Both men and women bore round their necks, or carried in their hands, large rosaries, telling the beads continually in apparent devotion.

The rich made an ostentatious display of their wealth when they stirred abroad. They were borne in palanquins, or rode on horseback, attended by a large number of lackeys in gay and fanciful liveries, some holding large umbrellas over them, others bearing arms, and some carrying their cloaks, gilt chairs and soft cushions, when they went to church. The same pomp and display attended them when they happened to pass through the streets on foot. The most attractive portion of this pageantry were the gold and silver trappings of the steeds on which the fidalgos were mounted. The saddle was covered with a rich embroidered cloth, the reins were studded with precious stones with jingling silver bells attached to them, and the stirrups were of gilt silver.

The example of the rich was but too readily followed by persons of moderate and even slender means. They too tried, as far as they could, to make an imposing appearance in public; but were obliged to resort to several make-shifts and devices to maintain an air of grandeur and dignity about them. Those who lived together had a few suits of silk clothes in common. These they used by turns when they went out, and hired the services of a man to hold an umbrella over them as they strutted through the streets. In fact they walked with such a proud gait, and with such an affected air of importance, that, as a traveller remarked, one might be led to take them for gentlemen with ten thousand pounds a year.

The ladies, as stated before, rarely stirred out of their dwellings, except on festive and solemn occasions. When they went to church, they appeared in all the glory of rich and gaudy attire, with a profusion of pearls and diamonds about their persons. Pyrard gives the following interesting description of their manner of attending church:-

"Rich and noble women go seldom to church, except on the principal festivals and when they do, they appear richly dressed after the fashion of Portugal, the dress mostly of gold and silver brocade adorned with pearls, precious stones, and with jewels on the head, arms, hands, and round the waist, and they put on a veil of the finest crape in the world, which extends from head to foot. Young maidens wear veils of different colours; whilst grown-up ladies invariably use black ones. They never use stockings. Their

flowing gowns sweep along the ground. The slippers or *chapins* are open c the upper part, and cover only the extremity of the foot: the lower part embroidered with gold and silver spangles, and the upper one is studde with pearls and precious stones. They have a sole of cork nearly half a foot i height. When they go to church they are carried in palanquins adorned a richly as possible; they take with them a valuable carpet of Persia, whic they call *alcatifa*, which here (in France) would be worth five hundred escu they have also two or three cushions of velvet or brocade, one to recline th head against, the other to rest the legs upon. And all these are taken wit them into the church by their servants, who are either Portuguese or Eurasiar They take their children too with them in the palanquin. A number of servant and slaves follow them on foot, richly attired in silks of different colours with large fine crape over all, which they call *mantos*. But they do not dres after the Portuguese fashion, but clothe themselves with a large piece of silk which serves them as petticoats, and have also smocks of the finest silk which they call *bájús*. Among these slaves are seen very beautiful girls of al the races inhabiting India. And it is to be remarked that the ladies are also accompanied by pages and by one or two Portuguese or Eurasian gentlemen to assist them in alighting from the palanquins: frequently, however, they are taken into the church in their palanquins, so much are they afraid of being exposed to the public view. They do not wear any mask, but paint their cheeks to a shameful degree. It is not that the ladies fear being seen, but they are forbidden by their husbands, who are too jealous of them. One of the servants or slaves brings a rich carpet; another two costly cushions; a third a China gilt chair; a fourth a velvet case containing a book, a handkerchief, and other necessary things; a fifth a very thin beautiful mattress to be spread over the carpet; and a sixth a fan and other things for the use of the mistress.

"As already stated, these ladies, when they enter the church, are taken by the hand by one or two men, since they cannot walk by themselves on account of the height of the slippers, which are generally half a foot high and have the upper part open. One of these presents holy water to the lady, and she goes afterwards to take her seat some forty or fifty paces off, taking at least a good quarter of an hour to walk that distance, so slowly and majestically does she move, carrying in her hand a rosary of gold, pearls and precious stones. This they all do according to their means, and not according to their quality. When they take their children along with them, they make them walk before them. The female servants and slaves are very glad if their mistresses do not go to Mass, for then they go alone, and can pay court to their lovers; they neither expose nor accuse one another."

A still more ostentious display was made by both gentlemen and ladies at marriages and christenings. These were solemnized in after years on such a grand scale that the Government of Portugal was at length obliged to put certain restrictions on the lavish expenditure incurred on these occasions.

The marriage ceremony was generally performed in the evening. The bride and bridegroom were accompanied to church by

their respective godfathers and by a large number of friends and relatives richly dressed, the gentlemen riding on horseback, and the ladies in palanquins, followed by a crowd of pages and slaves, all moving with a slow and majestic pace. The ceremony was gone through with great solemnity at church, and when it was over, the bridal party retraced their steps homewards, amidst the sound of trumpets and cornets and other musical instruments. As they passed in procession through the streets, their friends and neighbours showered on them from their windows fragrant flowers and perfumes and fancifully wrought comfits. On reaching home, the bridal pair respectfully bowed to the whole company, thanking them for their attendance, and proceeded with the ladies to the gallery, thence to enjoy the sight of sports in which their friends and relatives took part. These sports consisted principally of horse races and the common games of canes and oranges... At the same time the company were entertained with the sweetest strains of music; and when the sports were over, they were led into a hall where fruits, sweetmeats, and refreshments of every kind were served - except wine, instead of which the pure and wholesome water of Banguenim was offered, the sobriety of the Portuguese in this respect being truly admirable. The company then departed, except the nearest relations, who were afterwards treated to a sumptuous banquet.

With almost equal solemnity was the ceremony of christening performed. The new-born child was taken to the church in a palanquin by the person who was to stand as sponsor, accompanied by two servants on foot, one of whom carried a gilt salver containing a few cakes and flowers, and a wax taper curiously adorned, and having fixed on it a gold or silver coin, which was to be presented to the parish priest. The other servant carried a plate with salt, a silver ewer, and a clean napkin to be used to the occasion. A large number of the friends and kinsmen of the child's parents followed in palanquins to witness the ceremony. After the child was baptized, it was brought back home, where the same games and sports were exhibited as on the occasion of a marriage.

From

CHAPTER VI

Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, who visited the city in 1695, writes that Goa, once the centre of all the Portuguese conquests, a place of wealth and renown, and the chief mart of the East, was now reduced to a miserable condition. It had not more than 20,000 inhabitants. The Portuguese were few, but their descendants numerous, and the mutattoes constituted almost one-fourth of the population. Many of the natives were priests, advocates, solicitors, etc. The greater part of the merchants were pagans and Muhammadans, and lived apart from the Christians. The Portuguese, although fallen from their pristine grandeur, were still vain enough to parade themselves through the lonely streets in palanquins with slaves in their train holding umbrellas over them. Such slaves were found in numbers in the city, and could be had for fifteen to twenty crowns per head.

At the period of which we are speaking, the city presented an aspect which it was truly piteous to behold. Desolation, ruin, and misery met the eye on every side. Here were whole streets deserted and abandoned. There were houses already lying in heaps of ruins or gradually crumbling to dust; whilst three-fourths of the population was fast sinking down under the pressure of want and privation; only convents and churches with a few public buildings stood out amidst this general wreck as noble and enduring monuments of the past. The Jesuit Father Francisco de Souza, in his *Oriente Conquistado,* published in 1710, exactly two centuries after the conquest of Goa by Albuquerque, calls it "the wretched capital of a poor and miserable State, so ruined and deserted that its ancient grandeur can be guessed only from the magnificence of the convents and churches, which are yet preserved with great splendour and veneration."

These convents and churches were no doubt the only ornaments of the city at this time. The Viceroy, the Count of Ericeira, tried, by his alavara of 22nd August 1719, to preserve the few houses still standing in the immediate neighbourhood of the religious buildings, and to clear the roads of the ruins that obstructed them, but to no purpose. The fate of the city was already sealed. Captain

Alexander Hamilton, who was in Goa at this time, says that the city contained beautiful churches and convents, but that, its climate being considered unhealthy, it was poorly inhabited, whilst in its suburbs, and specially on the banks of the river, magnificent mansions and houses were seen. He counted from a neighbouring hill nearly eighty churches and convents, and these were such as he could see from his elevated position, but there were others, as he says, both in the city and the whole territory of Goa, where thirty thousand priests lived.* Each of these churches had a set of bells, one or other of which was continually ringing, and being christened, as he says, and dedicated to some saint, they had a peculiar power to drive away all manner of evil spirits, "except poverty in the laity and pride in the clergy." Some shops were still seen along the Rua Direita in which articles of different countries were exhibited for sale, but the native merchants were exposed to the insults and oppression of the Portuguese, who ordinarily purchases articles on credit without intending to pay for them, and when the merchants demanded payment they ran the risk of being bastinadoed. He gives a sad description of the European soldiers of the time, who committed great excesses.

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In 1759 the former Governor changed his residence from Panelim to Pangim; his example was followed by several persons of rank and influence. The suburbs were consequently gradually deserted. In the same year, by a Government Resolution, the Jesuits were expelled from Goa. The magnificent structures which they had reared in the city were declared the property of the State, but they were for the most part neglected and abandoned. The little commerce of the city, which had latterly been kept up, chiefly through the energy and enterprise of the Jesuits, received a fatal blow at this time. The city thus suffered materially from the expulsion of the Jesuits. In 1775 the population was reduced to about 1600 souls, of whom there were 1198 Christians.

In the following year the British Consul, Mr. Abraham Parson, along with Commodore Moor, visited the city. They were struck with the magnificence of several public edifices, but they found the religious

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* The numbers are greatly exaggerated - Fonseca's note.

houses of the Jesuits shut up. Many beautiful mansions which were built in the suburbs in the European style, they saw vacant and unoccupied: "while the Portuguese made but little figure in these parts, for, except Goa and the isle of Diu, they had no place of consequence on this side of the Cape of Good Hope."

It was in this state of the city, when its commerce was totally destroyed, its population reduced to a considerable extent, and its houses razed to the ground, that the Marquis of Pombal conceived the project of rebuilding it. His views on this subject appear clearly from the instructions he gave to Dom Jose Pedro da Camara, when he was sent out as Governor or Captain General of Goa. He remarks: "Divine Providence having placed the city of Goa in a situation by far the most advantageous and admirably fitted to make her the capital and mistress of the whole of Asia, and the incomparable Affonso de Albuquerque having raised her to that position, which she maintained with unrivalled power and glory till the intrusions of the so-called Jesuits, she has been overtaken by such calamities that she is reduced to a heap of ruins; so that she is now a mere wreck of what she was in happier times; for those wicked men wished the city to be deserted that she might be left entirely in their hands, with none to oppose the gigantic schemes of their insatiable and restless ambition." It will be observed that the illustrious statesman who expressed himself thus was evidently led away by his prejudice against the Jesuits, who, whatever might have been their faults in other respects, were certainly by no means responsible for the fall of the city. For, as we have seen, the misfortunes of the city were due to the insalubrity of its climate and the collapse of the Portuguese power and commerce in the East, no less than to the indiscreet conduct of the Government in attempting to rear a new capital. It was impossible, in the face of these adverse circumstances, for the city to retain its pristine grandeur. The age of Albuquerque was separated from that of the Marquis by a wide gulf, representing as each did a distinct epoch in the annals of the Portuguese Empire in the East - the one identified with the greatness, the other with the fall of the city.

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In the beginning of the 19th century the city of Goa attracted the attention of strangers chiefly by its religious buildings, many of

which were still preserved in great splendour. Dr. Claudius Buchanan wrote in 1808 that the magnificence of the churches in Goa far exceeded the idea he had formed of them from the descriptions given by travellers. Goa, says he, is properly speaking, the city of churches, and the wealth of all its provinces appears to have been spent in their erection. These specimens of ancient architecture are unrivalled in taste as well as in grandeur by any that can be witnessed in these days in any part of the East. They present a striking contrast to the gloom and misery that surround them. In fact with the exception of these convents, the decay of the city in other respects was by this time complete. Texeira Pinto writes in 1823 that though no decree had been passed for the destruction of the city, like that of the senate of Rome, *de delenda Carthagine*; though no irruption of barbarians had threatened her with ruin; though no fury of conquerors, like Alexander, had been directed against her as against Persepolis; though no deluge, no earthquake, no natural calamity had overtaken her, still little or nothing remained of the city of Albuquerque except the soil on which she stood. The population in her suburbs was hardly a twentieth part of what it had been. The parishes which had from twelve to thirty thousand inhabitants were almost deserted. The city presented a scene of desolation and ruin; there were only convents and churches with their ecclesiastics and their dependants. The superior of the Augustinian convent said four years after (1827) to the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen, who was in Goa at this time, "Il ne reste plus de cette ville que le sacré, le profane en est entierement banni," "Nothing remains of this city but the sacred, the profane is entirely banished."

The Abbé himself has left us by far the best description of the city in the last days of its existence. He says: In the midst of its ruins the old limits of the city could be distinctly traced. The public squares and thoroughfares were still distinguishable, and most of them were still bordered on both sides with low and mouldering stone walls. But there was not a single decent-looking house in the city; a few wretched huts were scattered here and there at a considerable distance from each other. It was a vast solitude. The greater part of the city was covered with cocoanut trees, which were a source of revenue to the church and convents and to private individuals. The suburb of Lower Daugim or of Santa Luiza on the east was also very much in decay; it contained only about fifty common houses on both sides of the streets; inhabited by Muhammadans and Hindus, but the suburb of Panelim

or of Sao Pedro on the west was in a better condition, having a row of elegantly constructed houses facing the river and extending to Ribandar. The total population of the city and its suburbs was about 3,200, two-thirds of which belonged to Panelim. The city was found much in the same state by the Rev. Joseph Wolff in 1833, and by Dr. John Wilson in 1834.

In the following year the Home Government adopted a measure which proved a deathblow to the city. A resolution was passed for the suppression of all religious orders throughout the Portuguese dominions. Accordingly the friars, who were at this time the only inhabitants of the city, were obliged to abandon their convents, and settle elsewhere. The majestic buildings which they had raised with exquisite skill and preserved with unceasing care, and which had excited the admiration of all travellers and strangers who visited Goa, were now destined to share the fate which had overtaken so many other edifices in the city, both public and private. They became State property, but were either neglected and suffered to decay, or purposely demolished to furnish materials for the construction of new buildings at Pangim, which had already become the seat of government. At the same time the valuable property, both moveable and immoveable, which belonged to these convents was sold, and the proceeds were made over to the public treasury.

With the suppression of the religious orders, and the fall of the convents, the last spark of life in the city became almost extinct. The proud capital of the Portuguese Eastern Empire was humbled to the dust. It was reduced to a heap of ruins, and turned into a wilderness, infested by venomous snakes and reptiles. The spot hallowed by the fame of Albuquerque and St. Francis Xavier, which had witnessed so many triumphs of the sword and the Gospel, which had absorbed the wealth and commerce of the East, and had attained an almost classic name, now presented a piteous spectacle of wide-spread desolation and decay. The spacious squares and piers along the river-side, so full of life and activity, - the crowded bazaars stocked with the varied products of different climes and regions, - the public thoroughfares thronged with men of every race and creed, - the noble edifices both public and private, religious and secular, rivalling in grandeur and beauty some of the best structures in Europe, - the palaces and churches and convents with their lofty spires and turrets, - these and other distinguishing features of a great and flourishing city were

gradually swept away, till at length they have been almost completely obliterated. It is difficult to trace them with any accuracy amidst scattered ruins, overgrown with thick shrubs and bushes, and half-buried in cocoanut groves. A few religious buildings, happily preserved from the general wreck, stand in the midst of this awful solitude to attest the departed glory of the old capital. A few priests break the sepulchral silence which reigns all around by the melodious hymns they chant; a few individuals occasionally break in on the lonely scene to contemplate the noble remains of a fallen city.

In surveying its ruins, the tourist cannot help being struck with the decay and desolation which meets his sight in all directions. Dr. Russell, who lately accompanied the Prince of Wales on his visit to the city, speaks of the ruins thus: - "The river washes the remains of a great city - an arsenal in ruins; palaces in ruins; quay walls in ruins; churches in ruins - all in ruins. We looked and saw the site of the Inquisition, the Bishop's prison, a grand Cathedral, great churches, chapels, convents, religious houses, on knolls surrounded by jungle and trees scattered all over the country. We saw the crumbling masonry which once marked the lines of streets and enclosures of palaces, dockyards filled with weeds and obsolete cranes."

From

'The Book of Duarte Barbosa'

Translated from the Portuguese
and edited by Mansel Longworth Dames

Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese official in the Portuguese government in India between 1500 to about 1517

DIO

After departing thus from these towns, Mangalor and Çuriate, along the coast there is a point where the land projects into the sea, on which is a great town named by the Malabares Devixa, and by the Moors of the land it is called Dio (Diu). It is on a small island, hard by the main, and has a right good harbour, a trading port used by many ships, with exceeding great traffic and commerce with Malabar, Baticala, Guoa, Chaul, and Dabul. Ships also sail hence to Meca, Adem, Zeila, Barbora, Magadoxo, Melinde, Brava, Mombaça and Ormus with the kingdom thereof. The articles of merchandize brought hither by the Malabares are as follows: cocoanuts (great store), areca, jagra, emery, wax, iron, Baticala sugar, pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, brasil-wood, long peppers, and, besides these, many silks and other wares which come from China and Malaca. From Chaul and Dabul they bring thither great store of woven cottons and linens, and take them away again to Arabia, and Persia. The traders who bring these goods take in return much silk cloth and country cotton, many horses, wheat, gingelly (and the oil got from it), cotton, opium, both that brought from Aden and that which they make in Cambaya, which is not so fine as the former. They also take many of the common silk camlets made in Cambaya, which are good and cheap. From India also they bring many large carpets, taffety, cloth of scarlet-in-grain and other colours, spices and other things, and all these goods are carried by the folk of this country to Meca, Adem, Ormus and other parts of Arabia and Persia, to such a degree that this town now has the greatest trade of any found in these regions; and yields such a sum of money that it is an astonishing thing, by reason of the bulky and precious goods that are here laden

and unladen. Thus from Meca and Adem alone they bring hither coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, alum, madder, rose-water, saffron, gold, silver (coined and bullion) in such abundance that it cannot be reckoned. The King of Cambaya has here a Governour named Malinquas, who is an old man, a very good rider, judicious, industrious and learned. He lives in a very orderly manner, and shows a powerful mind in all his affairs. He possesses a very strong artillery, which is renewed from day to day. He also has many rowing galleys, well designed and equipped, some of them small and very light, called *atalayas* (coast guards). He has built a very strong boom across the harbour, furnished with heavy artillery and many gunners always present, with number of men-at-arms well trained and equipped, whom he pays right well. He is very prudent and holds the might of the King our Lord in great dread[1] He gives great entertainment to our

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1. This passage seems to fix the date of this work as previous to 1515, since in that year the Portuguese made themselves masters of Diu, in which they built a fortress in 1536 (Diccion. Geog. Universal, Barcelona, 1831) - St.)

In this note Lord Stanley was misled by the authority he relied on . The Portuguese did not make themselves masters of Diu in 1515 and therefore no inference can be drawn as to the date of the completion of Barbosa's work. The occupation of Diu did not take place till long after his death in 1521.

Alboquerque saw the value of Diu and wished to take possession of it. His fleet put in there in 1513 on his return from the Aden and Red Sea expedition, but he found Malik Ayyaz well prepared, and was unable to obtain the concession of a factory for Portugal. In 1521 the incompetent Diogo Lopes Sequeira made some vain attempts on Diu which only led to disaster. Malik Ayyaz died in 1523, and his son, Ishak, gradually lost all authority. Diu came more directly under the kings of Gujarat, and another son of Ayyaz was appointed Governor. Nuno da Cunha attacked Diu in 1531, but with the assistance of a Turkish fleet under Mustafa (the Turks having replaced the Egyptians in the Red Sea) he was defeated. It was not till 1535 when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was hard pressed in his war with the Emperor Humayun that he came to terms with the Portuguese, and a fort was at last built at Diu. Meanwhile Bahadur Shah, having gained some success against the Mughals, began to regret his concessions to the Portuguese, and bad feeling arose between them. A quarrel broke out during a visit to the Govenor's ship, and Bahadur Shah was knocked overboard and drowned. Diu thereafter remained in the hands of the Portuguese (1537).

Shortly afterwards a storm burst upon Diu. A large Gujarat army attacked it by land, and a powerful Turkish fleet by sea. The fort stood a siege for some months, and after a heroic defence the siege was raised, owing to dissensions between the Turks and Gujaratis. War broke out again in 1546. Diu was again besieged from April till November, and was only relieved by Joao de Castro when at the last gasp. This was the last noteworthy event in its history. It has ever since remained part of the possessions of the Portuguese in India.

ships and people who put in at his port. The people of the country are properly punished and dealt with justly and according to law, especially those whom he holds in favour, to whom he gives grea gifts and privileges.

To this port came a fleet of the Great Soldam with a fine and powerful force well trained and armed, with many sailing ships and rowing galleys, the Captain-in-Chief of which was a Moor named Mirocem. He came to this port and kingdom in order to refit with the help of the King of Cambaya and of this same Governour; they were then to go thence to India, to the city of Calecut, where also they were to help in an attack on our people, and to drive them out of India. When they had been some time making themselves ready Dom Francisco Dalmeida, who was then Viceroy, knowing of their stay there, prepared his fleet and accompanied it as its Captain-in-Chief. The Moors sallied forth to encounter him at sea, and at the entrance of the bar both fleets fought so stoutly, that as much on one side as on the other, men were slain and wounded; and at the last the dogs were overcome, many being slain and many others taken; and the aforesaid Captain Mirocem fled, leaving his whole fleet to destruction. The Governor of Dio, who was aiding them with his *atalayas*, beholding this crushing defeat, sent in haste a message to the Viceroy begging for complete peace and friendship with the King our Lord, and in token thereof he sent many presents and supplies.

GOA

Further along the coast there is a very fine river which sends out two branches to the sea. Between these two is an island on which stands the city of Goa. It belongs to the Daquem, and was a seignory over itself and over other lands around it further inland. There rules a great lord, a vassal of the said king, whom they call Sabayo, on whom this seignory of Goa was bestowed because he was a bold horseman and valiant in war, in order that he might wage war thence against the king of Narsyngua, as he did continually thenceforth until the day of his death; on which this city remained in the possession of his son the Çabaym Hydalcam.

The inhabitants thereof are Moors of distinction, many of whom are foreigners from divers lands. They were white men[1], among whom, as well as merchants of great wealth, there were also many husbandmen. The land, by reason that the harbour was exceeding

good, had great trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Meca, the city of Adem, Ormus, Cambaya and Malabar. The Hydalcam had there a captain with many men at arms, who guarded it, and no man entered the island except under a strict regulation and a pass. He also kept there magistrates, scriveners and guards, who stopped every man who would enter, writing down who and whence he was, and what were his distinguishing marks; in this manner they allowed men to come in or go to go forth. The city is very great, with good houses, well girt about with strong walls, with toers and bastions. Around it are many vegetable and fruit gardens, with fine trees and tanks of sweet water, with mosques and heathen temples. The surrounding country is exceedingly fertile. Here the Hydalcam had a great revenue as well from the land as from the sea.

Having heard the news of the overthrow of the Rumes before Dio by the Viceroy Dom Francisco Dalmeida as I have stated above in its proper place, he sent to summon all those who had escaped thence, and they, leaving their Captain Mirocem in the kingdom of Guzarate, came to Goa. The Hydalcam received them well and determined to give them all the aid and succour of which they stood in need, and to set them up again by the help of other Moorish kings and of the merchants, to the end that they might wage war against our people; in such a way, that having gathered together a great sum of money they began to build in the Goa river fair galleys and brigantines after our fashion and style, as well as many pieces of ordnance of iron and copper and all other munitions of war needful for the sea, and made such good speed that in a short time a great part of the fleet was ready, as well as many great store-houses full of all necessaries in great perfection. Thus they were so confident that they put out to sea in atalayas and fustas to the zambucos, which were passing by with safe-conducts from the Captains of the King our Lord and from Afonso D'Alboquerque, who was then Captain-in-Chief of the Indian Sea, and took them. And as this continued to increase, the said Afonso D'Alboquerque, having information thereof, determined to pay them

1. White men. These were mainly Turks, Persians, Kurds, Abysinnians or captives from Christian countries, and must all have appeared white in comparison with the natives of the Konkan. There were also settlers and adventurers in great numbers from the countries lying round the Red Sea and Persian Gulf in all the ports of Western India at this period. The kingdoms of the Deccan depended mainly on these men for their armies.

a visit and persuade all his ships, caravels and galleons he entered the river, and attacking the said city, took it by force of arms.[2] In this attack many noteworthy eventy took place, which I do not here relate, in order to cut my story short, "for it is not my intention to write a chronicle, but only a short summary of that which can in truth be ascertained regarding the chief places in India."

But, to return to the subject: In this fight perished much people of the city, and of the ships which they had made ready some were taken and more were burnt, and he brought the city forthwith under

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2. Goa was first taken in February, 1510. The Portuguese historians say that D'Alboquerque had been informed by the pirate Timoja that Yusuf Adil Shah was dead, but according to Ferishta, who is a good authority on Bijapur affairs, the Christians took Goa during his life in the year 915 hijri, and he died of melancholia in the year 910. The hijri year 916 commenced on April 10th, 1510, and it is clear therefore that Goa was lost during his life, and probably he was still alive when his troops retook the town at the end of May, for one of the first events recorded in the history of his successor Isma'il 'Adil Shah (a minor) was that the Christians had taken it a second time, and that the regent Kamal Khan made peace with the Portuguese, and allowed them to keep Goa, on condition that they did not molest any other part of the 'Adilshahi dominions, a condition, Ferishta observes, which had been faithfully kept ever since.

The monsoon had set in when Goa was lost, and Alboquerque was obliged to remain in the sheltered river between the Point of Rebandar and the fort of Panjim (modern Goa). He moved his fleet down stream to this anchorage, which gave him more space than that near old Goa, and also gave him access to the land of Bardes and adjacent islands on the north side of the estuary, where his Hindu ally Timoja had a fort, and he could obtain water and supplies. He could not get out to sea during the monsoon, as the bar was impassable at that season; only the Marmagao branch, south of the island, was then open (*cf.* Dellon's *Inquisition de Goa*, pp. 41-42).

There he maintained himself with difficulty and loss, and almost famine in the fleet, until at last he was able to get over the bar in the beginning of August, and sent his sick to the Isle of Anchediva, to be provided for by Timoja with provisions from Honawar and Mergen, and went himself to Cananor to refit. He returned to the attack on Goa on November 20th, 1510, and the assault took place on the 25th, St. Catherine's Day. The small craft were sent round to the channel on the east side of Goa by night, to make a diversion and attract the attention of the enemy, while the main attack was made on the river front where the fortifications had been strengthened by a strong stockade. The attack was successful, and Goa fell finally into the hands of the Portuguese. It was their most important acquisition, and gave them a very strong position on the west coast of India, with a good harbour, and a territory capable of furnishing them with supplies.

Barbosa does not distinguish between the two occasions on which Goa was taken, but appears to refer chiefly to the second and more important.

the rule and governance of the King our Lord, even as it now is, and built for its defence strong fortresses. It is, at this time present, inhabited by Portuguese, Moors and Heathen, in great numbers.

Duties on the fruits and produce of the land yield the King our Lord yearly twenty thousand cruzados, in addition to the port dues.

In this port of Goa there is great trade in many kinds of goods, from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, Dabul and the great kingdom of Cambaya, which are consumed on the mainlands, and from the kingdom of Ormus come every year may ships laden with horses, and great numbers of dealers from the great kingdom of Narsyngua and from Daquem come hither to buy them. They pay for them at the rate of two to three hundred cruzados a piece, as the case may be, and take them away to sell them to the kings and lords of their lands, and by this means one and all they make great gains, and the King our Lord as well, who receives a duty of forty cruzados on each horse. [The King of Portugal collects forty thousand ducats in revenue; although they now pay less than in the time of the Moors, nevertheless the said port makes him good returns. - *Ramusio*].

[In this kingdom of Decam there are many great cities and many towns and villages in the inland country, inhabited by Moors and Heathen. The country is exceedingly fertile, yielding much food, and with great traffic.]

The Ormus merchants take hence in their ships cargoes of rice (great store) sugar, iron, pepper, ginger and other spices of divers kinds, and drugs, which they carry thither: and in all their dealings they are by the order of the King our Lord treated with greater mildness than by the Moorish kings.

The king of this land (Bahmani Kingdom of Mahmud Shah) and the whole *Daquem* kingdom is named *Soltam Mahamude*. He is a Moor, and resides always in one city which is called *Bider*, where there is great luxury, leading a very pleasant life. He does not govern himself, nor do anything concerning his government, but makes it all over to certain Moorish noblemen to govern, and each of these has charge of certain towns and cities, and governs those entrusted to him by the king. If any one of these rises against him the others all help obedience or destroy him. These Governors are often at war one with the other; they have many horsemen and are good archers, with Turkish bows. They are fair men and tall, and are attired in fine cotton garments, with turbans on their heads. They come from divers countries, and he

pays them right well; they speak Arabic, Persian and Daquanim (Marathi) which is the native tongue of the land.

The Moorish noblemen in general take with them tents, with which they form encampments, on the halting-grounds, when they travel, or when they take the field to attack any town.

The ride on high-pommelled saddles, and make much use of zojares, and fight tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail; their horses are well caparisoned with headpieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two. When they go forth to fight they take their wives with them, and they employ pack-bullocks on which they carry their baggage as they travel. Their king is often at war with the king of Narsyngua, from whom he has taken many towns, who in his turn endeavours to recover them. They are but seldom at peace, and were so even more seldom while the Sabayo yet lived. The Heathen of this Daquem kingdom are black and well-built, the more part of them fight on foot, but some on horseback, yet these are few. The foot-soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers, and their bows are long like those of England. They go bare from the waist up, but are clad below; they wear small turbans on their heads. They eat flesh of all kinds, save beef, which is forbidden by their idolatrous religion, which they follow very strictly. When they die they order their bodies to be burnt, and their wives burn themselves alive.

From

'The Suma Oriental of Tom Pires'

An account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan; written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515

(Translated from the Portuguese and Edited by Armando Cortesao)

Tome Pires was an apothecary who arrived in India in 1511 and was the first Portuguese Ambassador to China.

GOA

Now our road takes us to the magnificent kingdom of Goa -- the key to the First and Second India. On the sea-coast it is separated from the Deccan by Kharepatan, the chief river in India; on the Honawar side it has *Cintacora*; and inland it is bounded by the kingdom of the Deccan and the kingdom of Narsinga (Vijayanagar). The language which is spoken in this kingdom is Konkani. The kingdom of Goa was always esteemed as the best of the king of Narsinga's possessions, for it was as important as it was prosperous. The people of the Deccan won part of this kingdom from him, and afterwards the old *Çabaio*, father of the present one, won the rest of it from the heathens. It is forty-five years since the *Çabaio* took over this kingdom, and as long as it formed part of the kingdom of the Deccan, Goa was the head of the whole kingdom of the Deccan and Goa. The language of this kingdom of Goa does not resemble that of the Deccan, nor that of Narsinga, but is a separate language. The people of this kingdom are strong, prudent and very hard-working, both on land and sea.

Next to Kharepatan along the sea coast Goa has Devgarh (*Damdrivar*), Banda, Old Goa, New Goa, Liga (*Aliga*), Ancoll, Pale (*Vpale*), Sal River (*Rijo de Sall*), Cape Ramas (*Ponta Darrama*), *Cintacora*, Anjediva (*Amjadiva*). Between these ports there are rivers, which ships used to - and still do - navigate. And because these things belong to the kingdom of Goa, we will only speak of Goa itself. On the mainland

it had cities and towns, many tanadarias (thanedar; military authority of a small town, or receiver of revenues and customs) yielding large revenues and having highly cultivated lands, which are still in the hands of the Moors; but since the great city of Goa, which is the key to all [the rest], is now in the power and service of the most high God, it will not be long before the remainder follow it.

In the same way as doors are the defence of houses, so are sea-ports the help, defence and main protection of provinces and kingdoms; and once these are taken and subjugated, the provinces and kingdoms are put to great suffering, and if they have quarrels among themselves or with their neighbours, they are immediately lost because they have no help, especially as these kingdoms had no other protection but the city and port of Goa, which was their principal thing. Goa used to be a haunt of thieves, Turks, *Rumes* and people who die opposing our faith. Goa was preparing to inflict great losses on the Christians, but God's judgement turned the loss upon them, for there is no doubt that the Moors groaned when Goa was taken. Goa was a place so arranged that in the space of a year the Moors could easily get together armadas there, such as they could not get in Suez in twenty.

Who can doubt that in the rout of Goa, ships were taken which the Moors had made ready to fight against us, and which afterwards went to Banda to bring cargoes of mace for us? The judgement of our Lord is incomprehensible, and let every one take good note that the Moors suffered a greater loss in Goa than they will suffer when they lose Aden. Goa not only curbs the kingdom of the Deccan, but it stifles that of Cambay too. The Moors have a bad neighbour in Goa. Just as the Moors used to go on conquering kingdoms, they are now losing them. A kingdom without ports is a house without portals. It is Our Lord who decrees the downfall of Mohammed, and John the writer (possible St. John, the writer of the Apocalypse) is rapidly bringing it about. The time has already come. Let no one in India count on the Moors now, except on those who plough the hills. The kingdom of Goa is the most important in India, although they may not wish it to be so. It is civilised, having famous orchards and water. It is the coolest place in India, and it is the most plentiful in foodstuffs; so that it used to be customary among the *Rumes* and the white people to make a practice of going to the kingdom of Goa to enjoy the shade and the groves of trees and to savour the sweet betel. There is no doubt that

the betel in Goa is better than that anywhere else, mild and pleasant to the taste and highly prized, and it is usually from Goa that betel is exported to Aden, Ormuz and Cambay: It has more and better areca or *avelana India* than any other place. Cargoes of rice are taken from here, and great trains of oxen loaded with merchandise used to come in to Goa from very distant kingdoms in the interior. And if these things happened in the past, how much more reason is there to believe that from now on Goa will become a great port of call, greater than there has ever been; and the merchants will rejoice under our administration more than they did under the Moors.

The Kingdom of Goa always had the advantage over Chaul. It traded lavishly. It had many merchants. Its trade was large. It always had a great many ships. It has a good port, and not only that, but it was especially suited to the business of raising armadas which was carried on there, on account of the wood and of the craftsmen, and also because it had plentiful supplies and was very strong, and because there were always a large number of white people living there, full of pride, and not without cause, for the kingdom of Goa lies in the heart of all India. Great festivals used to be celebrated here in honour of the profane Mohammed, and these have now been changed to the name of Jesus Christ. The city of Goa is as strong as Rhodes. It has four fortresses, very richly constructed, in the necessary places, to injure the name of Mohammed.

They used to bring horses to Goa from all the kingdoms in Arabia Petrea, from Ormuz, from Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay; and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of the Deccan and of Narsinga. After Goa was taken from the Moors Narsinga got its horses through Bhatkal. And Goa also collected all the merchandise of those parts and they took back calico, fine muslin, rice, areca, betel and many *pardaos* and *oraos*, because horses here are worth a great deal. A horse may be worth as much as eight hundred *pardaos*, coins worth three hundred and thirty-five *reis* each. [Goa] used to receive many spices and quantities of merchandise from these other parts.

The Kingdom of Goa had a large number of ships which used to sail to many different places; and the Goanese ships were esteemed and favoured everywhere, because the Moors had all their power in these parts, in the kingdom of Goa. The seamen who sailed the ships were natives of the country, because the kingdom of Goa produces good seamen who can stand hard work. And thus with men from

Goa sailing to other places, and people from the other places sailing to Goa, its trade was great, so that large revenues were derived from the dues on the merchandise and anchorages, and also from the land dues and the *tanadarias* I have often heard it said that Goa and the surrounding district yielded four hundred thousand *pardaos* a year from the duties on everything that came into the port, together with its own products. And according to the run of things, this seems to be correct.

There are a great many heathens in this kingdom of Goa, more than in the kingdom of the Deccan. Some of them are very honoured men with large fortunes; and almost the whole kingdom lies in their hands, because they are natives and possess the land and they pay the taxes. Some of them are noblemen with many followers and lands of their own, and are persons of great repute, and wealthy, and they live on their estates, which are very gay and fresh. The heathens of the kingdom of Goa surpass those of Cambay. They have beautiful temples of their own in this kingdom; they have priests or Brahmans of many kinds. There are some very honoured stocks among these Brahmans. Some of them will not eat anything which has contained blood or anything prepared by the hand of another. These Brahmans are greatly revered throughout the country, particularly among the heathen. Like those of Cambay, the poor ones serve to take merchandise and letters safely through the land, because the rich ones rank as great lords. They are clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king.

No torment will make the people of the kingdom of Goa confess to anything that they have done. They can bear a great deal, and when they are being tortured with different tortures they will die rather than confess anything they have made up their minds to keep to themselves. And the pretty women of Goa dress well, and those who dance do so better than any others in this part of the world.

It is mostly the custom in this kingdom of Goa for every heathen wife to burn herself alive on the death of her husband. Among themselves they all rate this highly, and if they do not want to burn themslves to death their relatives are dishonoured and they rebuke those who are ill-disposed towards the sacrifice and force them to burn themselves. And those who will not burn themselves on any consideration become public prostitutes and earn money for the upkeep and construction of the temples in their district, and they die

in this way. Each of these heathen has one wife by law. Many Brahmans make a vow of chastity and keep it for ever.

In the other ports in the kingdom they load quantities of rice, salt, betel and areca, in which they trade. Each of these rivers has towns, far from the water because they are afraid; and those who know them well navigate there, because if they do not know them well they are lost. They are under the authority of the *Çabayo*, with captains who collect the revenues from the land, and some of them have a garrison of horsemen becaue they are constantly at war with the lands of the province of Narsinga.

From

'The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies (Volume I)'

Translated from the Dutch into Old English (1598); edited by Arthur Coke Burnell

The Dutch traveller Linschoten arrived in Goa on 21st September, 1583 and left five years later, in January 1589.

THE 30 CHAPTER

(Of the Portingalles and Mesticos, their houses, curtesies, mariages, and other customes and manners in India.)

The Portingals, Mesticos, and Christians, kéepe worshipfull and bountifull houses, having commonly (as it is said [before]) five, sixe, ten, twentie, some more, some lesse slaves, both men and women, in their houses every man according to his estate and qualitie, I meane married men. They are very cleanly and swéet in all things belonging to their houses, specially in their linnen, for that every day they change shirtes and smockes both men and women, and [their slaves and servants] likewise with other thinges that they weare, which they doe because of the great heat in that land. The Portingals are commonly served with great gravitie, without any difference betwéene the Gentleman and the common Citizen, [townesman] or soldier, and in their going, curtesies, and conversations, common in all thinges: when they go in the stréetes they steppe very [softly and] slowly forwards, with a great pride and vaineglorious majestie, with a slave that carrieth a great hat or vaile over their heads, to kéepe the sunne and raine from them. Also when it raineth they commonly have a boy that beareth a cloke of Scarlet or of some other [cloth] after them, to cast over them: and if it bee before noone, hee carrieth a cushin [for his maister] to kneele on when he heareth Masse, and their Rapier is most commonly carried after them by a boy, that it may not trouble them as they walke,

nor hinder their gravities. When they méete in the stréetes a good space before they come together, they beginne with a great Besolas manos, to stoope [with] their bodies, and to thrust forth their foot to salute each other, with their hattes [in their hands], almost touching the ground: likewise when they come into the Church [where] they have their stooles ready, which their slaves have prepared for them: all that are by him that commeth in do stande [up], and with the same manner of bowing [of their bodies] doe him great reverence, and if it chaunceth that any doeth him reverence (as the manner is) and that he to whom it is done doth not greatly esteeme thereof, so that he doeth him not the like [curtesie], they do altogether for that cause go after him, and cut his hatte in peeces, saying that he had disgraced the partie, wherein it is not for them to aske wherfore they shold so do, for it would bee the greatest shame [and reproch] in the world unto them if they should not revenge [so great an iniury]: and when they séeke to bee revenged of any man that hath shewen them discurtesie, or for any other cause whatsoever it bee, they assemble ten to twelve of their friends, acquaintance or companions, and take him wheresoever they find him, and beat him so long [together], that they leave him for dead, or very neare dead, or els cause him to be stabbed by their slaves, which they hold for a great honor and point of honestie so to revenge themselves, whereof they dare boast [and bragge] openly [in the stréetes], but if they desire not to kil him, they baste him well about the ribs and all his body over with a thicke réede, as big as a mans legge, which is called Bambus, whereby for eyght dayes after and more he hath inough [to do to kéepe his bed], and sometime in that manner they leave him for deade. This is their common custome, and is never looked unto or once corrected. Also they use long bagges full of sand, wherewith [they will give such blowes each upon other, that therewith] they will breake each others limmes, and [for ever after] make them lame. When any man goeth to visite an other in his house, although he which is visited be one of the principal Gentlemen [of the Citie], and the visitor but a simple soldier, or some other man it is the manner that hee which is visited commeth unto the doore of his house, with his hatte in his hand, and with great curtesie to receyve him that commeth to visite him, and so leadeth him up into his hall or chamber, wherein he will speake with him, where hee offereth him a chaire to sitte downe, and then hee himselfe sitteth [by him], then he asketh him what hee woulde have, which having understoode hee

bringeth him downe againe to the dore in the like sort, and so with a
Besolas manos biddeth him farewel, and if he should not doe so, or
[when hee giveth him a stool], shold give him one unlined, or one yt is
lesse or lower then that he taketh for himselfe, he that visiteth him
woulde take it in evil parte, estéeming it a great scorne, and séeke to be
revenged on him for the same.

When they have any weddinges and are married, whosoever they be if they have any wealth, all the friendes and neighbours come together, [every man] on horsebacke, and hee that hath not a horse wil borrow one, and are [every man] very costly apparelled, at the least some 50 to 100 [horses little] more or lesse, as the person is [of qualitie], and so they ride altogether in good order unto the Church with their seruantes, and [every man his] hatte for the Sunne, the parentes and friendes in the hinder part, and in ye last row the bridegroome betwéene two [of them], whom they call gossops: after them followeth the bryde between two Commeres, each in their Pallamkin, which is most costly made, and after them followe the slaves both men and women going in troupes, as if they ranne to hunt, and so comming to the Church, and being married according to the order used in the Church of Rome: they are in the same order brought home again, and passing [through the stréets], the neighbours leaning uppon Indian Carpets looke out of the windowes, and throwe Rose water upon the Bryde and Bridegroome, and other swéet smelling waters, with Roses and Sugar Comfets, or corne. In the mean time their slaves play uppon Shalmes and Trumpets most pleasant [and melodious] to heare, and comming to the house where [the Bride and Bridegroome] dwel, with great reverence and curtesie bowing downe [their bodies], they take their leaves of all the company, which are all on horsebacke about the dore. And so the Bride, the Bridegroome, and the Commeres goe up and sit with great gravitie in a window, and then beginne the [horseman] that led them [to Church], in honor of the married couple, one after the other to runne a course, the gossops (godfathers) beginning first, and the rest following twice or thrice [one after the other], with continuall playing on Shalmes, which are very common in India, for that he which is of any wealth hath them of his own within his house. This being ended, they all passe before the window where the Bride and Bridegroome sit, with a [great] reverence, and so passe on all saving the Gossoppes, [for] they go up to the Bride and Bridegroome, and bid [God give] them joy, then is there some

Comfets, and Marchpane brought forth, to drinke [a cuppe of] water withall, and after some [curteous] salutations [and congratulations] to the new married [couple, they take their leaves and] depart: so there remaineth with the Bride and Bridegroome but thrée or four of their nearest friends and kinsemen, for whome there is a dinner prepared, with little meate, yet [very] costly, which they passe over [very] lightly, and not many wordes, [which done] they presently bring the Bride to bed, without any other ceremonies or charges, wherewith the marriage is done and ended. Oftentimes it chaunceth that they go to bed [at ye least] two houres before Sunne setting, not having the patience to stay so long as [we do] in these countries. When a childe is to be christened, it is likewise in the same sorte led to Church with horses, and last of all commeth the father alone, after whom followeth two men on foote, the one with a great silver or guilt vessell full of bread baked like cracklinges, which in Portingall are called Rosquilhos, and in the middle a great Waxe candle, well made and gilded, thrust through with some peeces of money of golde and silver, for an offering to the Priest that baptiseth the childe, and all over strowed and covered with Roses: the other carryeth a great silver or gilt saltseller in one of his handes, and a lampe of the same stuffe in [his] other hande, each with rich and costly Towels on their sholders: after that followeth two Pallamkins, on the one [side] ye Commere, on the other [side] the Midwife with the child, covered with a costly mantle, made for the purpose, and so the ceremonies of baptisme being ended in the Church, it is againe in the like sort brought home, and beeing there, they have the like manne of musicke [and] shalmes, running and leaping with their horses before the window where the Commere sitteth with the same ceremonies as at the wedding. This is the manner and costome of those that are married and kéepe house.

But concerning the souldier that is unmarried[1] [thus it is]. They

1 I.e., the largest number of the Europeans at Goa, but who had less privileges than the "Casados" or married settlers. They were mostly criminals or boys. Sassetti (*Lettere*, p. 280) gives a miserable account of them: "Every year there came from Portugal 2500 or 3000 men and boys; of the most abandoned that are there; a quarter, or a third and perhaps a half (die on the voyage and) are cast into the sea; the rest who arrive alive are stationed on land; comes death or knavery and gathers all, and, for the most part, they come to a bad end, except a few nobles or others who, by interest of their parents, or by their own ability, rise in some way." Pyrard (ii, p.7) says that there were 1500 soldiers in hospital when he was there; he calls them "gens de fortune."

goe in the summer time into the Armado [lying] on the water, and being within the townes and on the land, they are very stately apparrelled, and goe verie gravely along the stréets with their slaves or [men] hired [for the purpose], that beare a hatte over them for the sunne and raine: for there are [many] Indians that are [daily] hired for the purpose, and have 12 Basarucos the day, which is as much as two stivers or a stoter, and they serve such as have no slaves, and that will not kéepe any to that end.

The souldiers dwell at least ten or twelve in a house, where they have among them a slave or hired Indian or two which serveth them, and washeth their shirts, and have foure or five stooles with a table, and every [man] a Bedde. Their meate is Rice sodden in water, with some salt fish, or some other thing of small value (without breade) and cleare fountaine water for their drinke, wherewith they are well pleased. They have amongst them all one or two good sutes of apparell, [all] of silke as the manner is there, and when one goeth abroad, the others stay at home, for in the house they have no néede of clothes (but sit whosoever they bee) in their shirts and a paire of linnen bréeches, and so [as it were] naked by [reason of] the great heate, for if some of them [have occassion to] goe out twenty times in one day, they must so often lend him their apparel, and hee must [likewise] put off his clothes, as often as he commeth home againe. Some souldiers have a Gentleman or Captaine [to their friendes] which lendeth them monie to apparell themselves withall, to the end when summer time cometh, they may be ready to goe with them in Fléet to sea, as also to have their friendship, by night and [at] other times to beare them company, or to helpe them to bee revenged of any injury by them received as [I] said before: for that he which in India hath most souldiers to his friends, is most regarded and feared. So that to bee short, in this manner they doe maintaine themselves in common, [whereby they are able to come in presence] of the best of the countrie. Manie and most of them have their chiefe maintenance from the Portingales and Mesticos wives, as also the Indian Christians [wives], which doe alwaies bestow liberall rewardes and giftes [uppon them] to satisfie [and fulfill] their unchaste and filthy desires, which they know very well how to accomplish, and secretly bring to passe. There are some likewise that get their livings by their friends, travelling for them from place to place with some wares and merchandises, they are called Chattiins. These doe give over [and leave] the officer of a

souldier in the Fléete, and the Kinges service: for as [it] is said there is no man compelled thereunto, although their names be registered in the office, yet doe they still kéepe the name of souldier, as long as they travaile abroad and are not married. The souldiers in these dayes give themselves more [to be] Chattiins (traders), and to deale [in Marchandise] then to serve the King in his Armado, because the Captaines and Gentlemen begin to be slacke in doing good unto them, as in times past they used to doe. Also they give themselves to rest and pleasure: wherefore if they can devise any meanes for it they had rather traveile and deale in trade of Marchandise, and to marie and be quiet, in respect that the common souldiers in these dayes are but slackely paide.

THE 31 CHAPTER
(Of the maner and customes of Portingale and Mesticos women in India)

The Portingales, Mesticos, and Indian Christian women in India, are little [séene abroad], but for the most part sit still within the house, and goe but seldome forth, unlesse it be to Church, or to visit their friends, which is likewise but verie little, and when they goe abroad, they are well provided not to be seene, for they are carried in a Pallamkin covered with a mat or [other] cloth, so that they cannot be seene.

When they goe to church, or to visit [any friend], they put on very costly apparrell, with bracelets of gold, and rings upon their armes, [all beset with] costly Jewels and pearles, and at their eares hang laces full of Jewels. [Their] clothes [are] of Damaske, Velvet and cloth of gold, for silke is the worst [thing] they doe weare. Within the house they goe bare headed with a wastecoate called Baju (short shirt), that from their shoulders covereth [their] navels, and is so fine that you may see al their body through it, and downewardes they have nothing but a painted cloth wrapped thrée or foure times about [their] bodies. These clothes are very faire, some of them being very costly [wrought] with [loome worke, and] divers figures and flowers of all colours, all the rest of the body is naked without any hose, but onely bare footed in [a paire of] moyles (sandals) or pantofles, and the men in like sort. This is their manner in the house both old, and young, rich, and

poore, none ecepted, for they goe forth but very little, and then they are [both] covered and carried, and what they néed abroad that the slaves both men and women doe fetch in. The women eat no bread or very little, nor yet the slaves, not that they refuse it for the dearnes [or want of bread, (for they have enough and great aboundance) but they are so used to eate rice, that they desire no other, which they séeth with water and eate it with some salt fish, or a [kinde of] salt fruit called Mangas (pickled mango), or with some other composition [both] of fish and flesh, with pottage (pepper water) which they powre upon it, and [so] eate it with their handes: for there they eate nothing with spoones, and if they should sée any man doe so, they would laugh at him. When they drinke they have certaine pots made of blacke earth very fine and thin, much like those that we use in Holland for flower pottes, having in the necke thereof a partition full of holes [with a spout], (and these cruses are called Gorgoleatta), to this end, that when they drinke, they may hold [the potte] on high, and touch it not with their mouthes, but the water running from the spout falleth into their mouthes, never spilling drop, which they doe for cleanliness, because no man should put it to [his] mouth, and when any man commeth newly out of Portingall, and then beginneth to drinke after their manner, because he is not used to that kinde of drinking, he spilleth it in his bosome, wherein they take great pleasure and laugh at him, calling him Reynol, which is a name given in iest to such as newlie come from Portingall, and with such ceremonies as the Portingales use there in India so that at the first they are much whooped and cried at in the stréets, untill by use [and practise] they have learned the Indian manner, which they quicklie doe. The men are very jealous of their wives, for they will never bring any man into their houses, how speciall a friend [soever] hee bee, that shall sée their wives or [their] daughters, unlesse it bee some gossip or any other married man with his wife in companie. When they will goe together to some place to sport and solace themselves, they are alwaies well guarded by their slaves, both men and women both for their safety and service. If any man commeth to the doore to aske for the master [of the house], presently the wives and their daughters run to hide them (this is a Muhammedan habit), and so leave the man to answer him that standeth at the dore: likewise they suffer no man to dwell within their houses, where the women and daughters bee, howe néere kinsman [soever] he be unto them, being once 15 years of age, nor their owne

sons, but have certaine chambers and places beneath, or besides [their] house where they lye, and may in no sort come among the women, and thether they send [them] their meate and [other] provisions, for it hath oftentimes béene séene [in those countries], that the uncles sonne hath laine by his aunt, and the brother by the brothers wife, and the brothe with his sister: whereof I have knowne some that have bin taken with the manner, and that [both] they and the woman have been slaine by the husbands. The women are very luxurious and unchaste, for there are verie few among them, although they bee married, but they have besides their husbands one or two of those that are called souldiers, with whome they take their pleasures: which to effect, they use al the slights and practises [they can devise, by] sending out their slaves and baudes by night, and at extraordinary times, over walles, hedges, and ditches, how narrowlie [soever] they are kept [and looked unto]. They have likewise an hearbe called Deutroa (Dhattura), which beareth a séed, whereof brusing out the sap, they [put into a cup or other vessel, and] give it to their husbands, eyther in meate or drinke, and presently therewith, the man is as though hee were halfe out of his wits, and without feeling, or els drunke, [doing nothing but] laugh, and sometime it taketh him sleeping, [whereby he lieth] like a dead man, so that in his presence with their friends, and the husband never know of it. In which sort he continueth foure and twentie houres long, but if they wash his féete with colde water hee presently reviveth, and knoweth nothing thereof, but thinketh he had slept.

Deutroa of some called Tacula, of others Datura, in Spanish Burla Dora, in Dutch Igell Kolben, in Malaba Vumata Caya, in Canara Datura, in Arabia Marana, in Persia and Turkie Datula. Of the descriptions of this bearbe and fruit you may read in the Herballes, if any man receaveth or eateth but halfe a dramme of this seed, hee is for a time bereaved of his wits, and taken with an unmesurable laughter.

There are many men poysoned by their wives, if they once be mooved: for they know howe to make a [certaine] poyson or venome, which shall kill the person that drinketh it, at what [time or] houre it pleaseth them: which poyson being prepared, they make it in such sort, that it will lye sixe years in [a mans] body, and never doe him hurt, and them kil him, without missing halfe an houres time. They make it also for one, two, or thrée yeares, monthes, or dayes, as it pleaseth them [best], as I have seene it in many, and there it is very

common. There are likewise many women brought to their ends by [means of] their husbandes, and slaine when soever they take them in adulterie, or that they doe but once suspect them, [if they doe presently] they cut their throats, and bring three or foure witnesses to testifie that strange men entred into their houses by night, at unaccustomed times, or els by day, [and had their pleasures] of their wives, or in other sort as they will devise it, whereby they are presently discharged [of the crime] according to the lawes and ordinances [both] of Spaine and Portingall, and presently may marrie with another [wife]. This [notwithstanding] is no meanes to make the women feare, or once to leave their filthie pleasures, although there are everie yeare manie women without number so dispatched [and made away] by their husbands, and it is so common with them, that no man thinketh it strange, [or once wondereth thereat] because of the costume. The women also for their part say [and] flatly [affirme], that there can be no better death, than to die in that manner, saying that so they are sacrificed for love, which they thinke to be a great honour [unto them]. The women are by nature very cleanelie and neat, as well in their houses as in apparell, for that although all whatsoever she putteth on her bodie every day, is [both white, cleane and] fresh: yet they have a manner everie day to wash [themselves] all the body [over], from head to foote, and some times twyse [a day], in the morning and at evening: and as often as they ease themselves or make water, or [else] use the companie of their husbands, everie time they doe wash [themselves], were it a hundreth times a day and night: they are no great workers, but much delighted in swéet hearbs, and in perfumes and frankincense, and to rub their bodies and their foreheads with swéet sanders and such like woods, which with water they doe stéep or breake in peéces: also the whole day long they [doe nothing, but sit and] chawe leaves [or hearbes], called Bettele (betel), with chalke and a [certaine] fruit called Arrequa, whereof in an other place among fruites and hearbs I wil speake more. This Arrequa, some of it is so strong, that it maketh men almost drunke, and wholly out of sense, although in shewe and in taste it is almost like wood or rootes: these 3 things they sit all the whole day chawing [in their mouthes], like oxen or kyne chawing the cud: they let the sap goe down in [to their throats], and spit the rest out [of their mouthes], whereby they make their mouthes so red and blackish, that to such as know it not it is strange to sée- all which, with [their] washing, frankinscence, and

rubing with sanders, they have [learned and] received of the Indian Heathens, which have had those costomes of long time, and yet till this day [use them]: they say it preserveth the téeth, and kéepeth them sound, good for the mawe, and against a stincking mouth and evill breath, insomuch as they are so used to chaw it, that wheresoever they goe or stand, they must alwaies have [of] those leaves carryed with them, and the women slaves do likewise goe alwaies chawing, and are so used thereunto, that they verily thinke, that without it they can not live, for their common worke is to sit all day, when their husbands are out [of doores], behind the mat, which hangeth at the winndow, alwaies chawing the [hearbe] Bettele, séeing those that passe by in the stréetes, and no man séeth them: but as any man passeth by which liketh them, and they will let them have a sight, they lift up the mat, whereby they doe the passinger a great favour, and with that manner of shewing themselves and casting lookes, they make their beginnings of love, which by their slavish women they bring to effect: to the which end they have all develish devises [that possible may be invented], for that both night and day they do practise nothing else, but make it their [onely] worke, and to make nature more lively [to abound and] move them thereunto, they do use to eate those Betteles, Arrequas, and chalk, and in the night it standeth by their bed [sides, this] they eate whole handfuls of Cloves, Pepper, Ginger, and a baked kind of meat calle Chachunde, which is mixed [and made] of all kindes of Spices and hearbs, and such like meates, all to increase their leachery.

And they are not content therewith, but give their husbandes a thousand hearbs for the same purpose, to eate, they not knowing thereof, thereby to fulfill their pleasures, and to statisfie their desires, which can not by any meanes be satisfied. They are likewise much used to take their pleasures in Bathes, by swimming therein, which they can very well doe, for there are very few of them, but they would easilie swimme over a river of halfe a myle broad.

This shall suffice for [their] women, now I will procéed to other matters. And the better to understand the shapes and formes of their women, together with their apparell, you may behold it here, when they goe to Church and els where, both wives, maids, and widdows, [everie one by themselves], as also how they goe in their houses, with their dish of Bettele in their hands, being their daylie chawing [worke]: also how they are carried in Pallankins through the stréet, with their

women slaves round about them: also with their husbands and slaves by night, going to anie sport, or els to Church, which they use after ye manner of pilgrims, for then they go on foot, whereby they thinke to deserve greater reward, which by day is not permitted them, for they are not so much trusted: these visitations or night pilgrimages they hold and estéem for a great recreation and fréedome, for that they hope, watch and looke for the same, as children doe for wake-dayes (fairs) and other playing times: likewise the women slaves doe make some account thereof, because they doe never go abroad, but only at such times, or to Church on festiuall dayes behind their Pallamkins, upon the which dayes they advertise their lovers, and leave their mistresses in the Churches, or slip into some shoppe or corner, which they have redie at their fingers endes, where their lovers méet them, and [there] in hast they have a sport [which done] they leave each other: and if she chance to have a Portingal or a white man to her lover, she is so proud, that she thinketh no woman comparable unto her, and among themselves doe bragge [thereof], and will steale both from master and mistress to give them, with the which manie Soldiers doe better maintaine themselves, then with the kinges pay; and if [if chaunceth that] these slavish women be with child, they are their maisters [children], who are therwith very wel content, for [so] they are their captives, but if the father be a Portingale, or [some] other frée man, when the childe is borne, he may within 8 dayes challenge it for his, paying the maister a small péece of money [for it], [as much] as by law is thereunto ordeined, and so [the child shall ever after] be frée, but not the mother: but if he stay above 8 to 10 dayes, and within that time no man cometh to challenge it, although it be a free mans [child], and he after that shall come to aske it, then it is the mothers maisters slave, and he may hold it at as high a price as pleaseth him, without constraint to sell it, and it falleth out verie little, or [else] never that the mother destroyeth her child, or casteth it away, or sendeth it to the father, be she never so poore, frée or captive, for they delight more in [their] children, and take more pleasure in carrying them abroad, specially when it is a white mans [child], then in all the riches of the world, and by no means will give it to the father, unlesse it should be secretly stollen from her, and so conveyed away. The nursing [and bringing up] of the Portingales Mesticos children is, that from the time of their birth they are kept naked onely with a little short shyrt (like the womens Baju, [which they weare] about their bodies), and

nothing else, till they be of yeares to weare breches, or other clothes. Some of them are nursed by their slaves, and some by Indian women, which they hire, whose shape and forme you may see, following the Palamkin wherein the wife is carried, even as they goe bearing their children.

THE 36 CHAPTER

(Of the Indians called Bramenes, which are the ministers of the Pagodes, and Indian Idoles, [and] of their manners of life.)

The Bramenes are the honestest and most estéemed nation amonge [all] the Indian heathens: for they doe alwaies serve in ye chiefest places about the King, as Receyvers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like offices. They are likewise [the priestes and] ministers of the Pagodes, or divelish Idoles. They are of great authoritie among the [Indian] people, for [that] the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may be knowne from other men, they weare uppon their naked body, from the shoulder crosse under the arme over their body downe to the girdle, or the cloth [that is wrapped about their middle], 3 or 4 strings like sealing thréede, whereby they are knowne: which they never put off although it shoulde cost them their lives, for their profession and religion will not permit it. They go naked, saving [onely that they have] a cloth bounde about their middles to hide their privie members. They wear sometimes when they go abroad a thinne cotton linnen gowne called Cabaia, lightly cast over their sholders, and [hanging] downe [to the grounde] like some other Indians, as Benianes, Gusarates, and Decaniins. Upon their heads they weare a white cloth, wounde twice or thryce about, therewith to hide their haires, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women do. They have most commonly rounde rings of golde hanging at their ears, as most of ye Indians [have]. They eat not anything that hath life, but féed themselves with hearbes and Ryce, neyther yet when they are sicke will for any thing bee let blood, but heale themselves by hearbes and ointments, and by rubbing [their bodies] with Sanders, and such like swéet woods. In Goa and on the sea coasts there are many Bramenes, which commonly doe maintaine themselves with selling of spices and [other] Apothecarie ware, but [it is] not so cleane [as others, but] full of garbish [and dust]. They are very subtil in writing and casting accounts, wherby they make other simple Indians beleeve what they will.

Touching the pointes of their religion, wherein the common people beléeve them to be Prophetes: whatsoever they first meete withal in the stréets at their going forth, the doe they all the day [after] pray unto. The women when they goe forth have but one cloth about [their] bodies, which covereth their heads, and hangeth downe unto their knées: all the rest [of the body is] naked. They have ringes through their noses, about their legs, toes, neckes, and armes, and upon each hand seven or eight ringes or bracelettes, some of silver and gilt, if they be of wealth [and ability]: but the common people of glasse, which is the common wearing of all the Indian women. When the woman is seven years olde, and the man nine years, they do marrie, but they come not together before the woman bee strong enough to beare children. When the Bramenes die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throw much wood and other things: and if the man be of any accompt, [they cast in] swéet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne and such like, and much oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger. Which done they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then cometh his wife with Musike and [many of] her néerest frends, all singing certain prayses in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with, him into the other world. Then she taketh [al] her Jewels, and parteth them among her frends, and so with a chéerfull countenance[1], she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with wood and oyle: so she is quickly dead, and with her husbands bodie burned to ashes: arid if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any [woman] refuseth to be burnt with her husband, then they cut the haire cleane off [from her head]: and while she liveth she must never after wear any Jewels more, and from that time she is dispised, and accounted for a dishonest woman. This manner and custome of burning is used also by the Nobles and principallest of the Countrey, and also by some Marchantes: notwithstanding all their dead bodies in generall are burnt to ashes, and the women, after their husbands deathes, doe cut their haire short, and weare no Jewels, whereby they are knowne for widowes. The [first] cause [and occasion] why the women are burnt with their husbandes, was (as the Indians themselves do say), that in time past, the women (as they

1 This account of the fate of some Hindoo widows is exact, and is the earliest precise account of the horrible rite now called 'Suttee'.

are very leacherous and inconstant both by nature, and complexion), did poyson many of their husbands, when they thought good (as they are likewise very expert therein:) thereby to have the better means to fulfill their lusts. Which the King perceiving, and that thereby his principal Lords, Captains, and Souldiers, which uphelde his estate and kingdome, were so consumed and brought unto their endes, by the wicked practises of women, sought as much as hee might to hinder the same: and thereupon he made a law, and ordayned, that when the dead bodies of men were buried, they shold also burne their wives with them, thereby to put them in feare, and so make them abstaine from poysoning of their husbands: which at the first was very sharply executed, onely upon the nobles, [gentlemen, and] souldiers [wives, as also the Bramenes (for that the common people must beare no armes, but are in a manner like slaves.) So that in the ende it became a custome among them, and so continueth: [whereby] at this day they observe it for a part of their law and ceremonies of their divelish Idoles, and now they do it willingly, being hartened and strengthened thereunto by their friendes. These Bramenes observe certain fasting daies in ye year, and that with so great abstinence, that they eat nothing all that day, and sometimes in 3 or 4 daies together. They have their Pagodes and Idoles, whose ministers they are, whereof they tell and shew [many] miracles, and say that those Pagodes have been men [living upon earth], and because of their holy lives, and good workes done [here] in this world, are [for a reward thereof], become holy men in the other world, as by their miracles, by the Divel performed, hath béene manifested [unto them], and by their commandementes their formes [and shapes] are made in the most ugly and deformed manner that possible may bee devised. Such they pray and offer unto, with many divilish superstitions, and stedfastly beléeve yt they are their advocates and intercessors unto God. They beléeve also that their is a supreme God above, which ruleth all things, and that [mens] soules are immortall, and that they goe out of this worlde into the other, both beastes and men, and receyve reward according to their workes, as Pythagoras teacheth, whose disciples they are.

From

'The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten (Volume II)'

Edited by P. A. Tiele

In the same month of August (1588) there happened a foule and wonderfull murther within [the towne of] Goa, and because it was done upon a Netherlander, I thought good to set it downe at large, that hereby men may the better perceyve the boldnesse and [filthie] lecherous mindes of the Indian women, which are commonly all of one nature and disposition. The thing was thus, a young man borne in Antwarpe called Frauncis King, by his trade a stone cutter (diamond polisher), was desirous (as many young men are) to see strange countries, & [for the same cause] travelled unto Venice, where he had an uncle dwelling, who being desirous to preferre his cosin, sent him in the company of other Marchantes to Aleppo in Suria, where the Venetians have great trafficke, as I saide before, there to learne the trade of marchandise, and specially to deale in stones, to the which ende he delivered him a [great] summe of money. This [young] youth being in Aleppo, fell into company in such sort, that insteede of increasing his stocke, as his uncle meant he should doe, he made it lesse by the one halfe, so that when the other Marchants had dispatched their businesse, and were readie to depart for Venice, Fraunсis King perceyving that hee had dealt in such sorte, that halfe his stocke was consumed, and spent in good fellowshippe, knew not what to doe, as fearing his uncles displeasure, not daring to returne againe [to Venice unless hee caried as much with him as hee brought from thence] : in the end hee tooke counsell of some Venetians, with whome hee was acquainted, that willed him to goe with the Caffila or Carvana, that as then was ready to go unto Bassora, and from thence to Ormus in India, assuring him seeing hee had knowledge in stones, that hee might [doe great good and] winne much profite [in those

countries], and thereby easily recover the losse that by his folly hee had receyved: which would turne to his great benefite, and likewise no hurt unto his uncle. Which counsell hee followed, determining not to returne backe againe before hee had recovered his losse, and [to the same end and purpose hee] joyned himselfe with certain Venetians, who [at the same instant] travelled thether, and so went with the Caffila till they came unto Bassora, the best Towne in all those Countries, lying uppon the utter parte of Sinus Persieus, that goeth towrdes Ormus, and from thence by water till they arrived in Ormus, where everie man set uppe his shoppe [and began to sell his wares]: but Francis King being young and without government, seeing himselfe so far distant from his uncle, made his account, that the money he had in his hands was then his owne, and began againe without anie foresight, to leade his accustomed life, taking no other care, but onlie to [be merrie and] make good cheare so long, till in the end the whole stock was almost clean [spent and] consumed, and beginning to remember himself [and to call to mind his follies past], hee knewe not what course to take: for that to goe home again, he thought it not the best way, as wanting the meanes, and again he durst not shew himself in the sight of his Uncle. At the last he determined to travell unto Goa, where he understood he might well get his living, by setting up his trade, til it pleased God, to work otherwise for him, and so he came to Goa, and being there, presently set up shoppe to use his occupation. But because he found there good company, that is to say, Netherlanders and [other] Dutchmen, that served there ordinarily for Trumpetters and Gunners to the Viceroy, who did daylie resort unto him: he could not so well ply his worke, but that he fell into his wonted course: which he perceiving, in the end determined to make his continuall residence in Goa, and [for the same purpose] set downe his rest, [to seeke some meanes] there to abide as long as he lived, seeing all other hope was cleane lost for ever, returning againe unto his [Uncle, or into his] owne countrie. [At the same time], among other strangers, there was one John de Xena, a French man, borne in Deepe, that in former times was come into India, for drum unto one of the Viceroyes, and having beene long in the countrie, was maryed to a woman of Ballagate, a Christian, but by birth a More. This French man kept a shoppe in Goa, where he made Drummes and other Joyners worke, and withall was the Kings Oare make for the Galleyes, whereby he lived in reasonable good sort. He

had by his foresaid wyfe two sonnes and a daughter: and as strangers, [of what nation soever tey be], use to take acquaintance one of the other, being out of their owne countries (speciallie in India, where there are very few) and do hold together as brethren, which to them is a great comfort: so this Frauncis King used much to this French mans house, by whom he was verie much made of, and very welcome, as thinking thereby to bring him to match with his daughter, because of his occupation, which is of great account in India: because of the great number of [Diamants & other] stones that are sold in those countries: and to conclude, as the manner of India is, that when they have gotten a man in once, they will never leave him: he ceassed to draw Frauncis so farre, that he gave his consent thereunto, which afterwardes cost him his lyfe, as in the historie following you shall heare the true discourse. To make short, they were maried according to their manner, the Byrde being but 11 years old, [very] fair and comelie of bodie and limme, but in villanie, the worst that walked uppon the earth: yet did her husband account himselfe a [most] happie man that had found such a wyfe, as he often times said unto me: although he was so ielous of her, that he trusted not any man, were they never so neere friends unto him: but he in whome he put his greatest trust & least suspected, was the [onlie] worker of his woe. When he was betroathed to his wife, the father promised him a certain peece of money, and untill it were payde, he and his wyfe should continue at meat and meale in his father in lawes house, and should have a shop adioyning to the same, and whatsoever he earned should be for himself. [When all] this was done, and the matter [had] remained thus a long while, by reason that the father in law could not performe the promised summe, because their household increased, [it came to passe that] the old man fell into a sicknesse and died, [and then] Frauncis King must of force pay his part towards the housekeeping, which he liked not of: & thereupon fel out with his mother in law; and on a certaine time made his complaint to me, asking my counsel therein, I answered him and said, I would be loath to make debate betweene Parents & Children, but if it were my case, seeing I could not obteyne my dowrie, I would stay no longer there, but rather hyre a house by my self, and keep better house alone with my wife, then continue among so manie, wher I could not be master. In the end he resolved so to doe, & with much adoe tooke his wife & child wt. his slaves, and parted houshold, hyred himselfe a house, set up his shoppe, and

used his trade so handsomely, that having good store of worke, he became reasonable wealthie. But his mother in law, that could not conceale her Morish nature, after ye death of her husband: whether it were for spight she to her sonne in law, or for a pleasure she tooke therein, counselled her daughter to fall in love with a young Portingal Soldier, whom the daughter did not much mislike: which soldier was verie great in the house, and ordinarilie came thether to meat and drinke, and Frauncis trusted him [as well as if he had bene] his brother, in so much that he would doe nothing without his counsell. This Soldier called Anthonio Fragoso continued this beastlie course with Frauncis his wyfe, with the helpe of her mother, all the while that they dwelt with the mother: and it is sayd, that he used her company before shee was maried, although shee was but young, which is no wonder in India: for it is their common custome in those countries to doe it, when they are but eight yeres old, and have the flight to hide it so well, that when they are maried, their husbands take them for very good maides. This [order of life] they continued [in that sorte] for the space of foure yeares, and also after that they had taken a house, and dwelled alone by themselves (for Antonio Fragoso kept his old haunt) and although Francis used continually to shut his chamber dore, yet was this Portingall oftentimes hidden therein, he not knowing thereof, where hee tooke his pleasure of his wife.

At the last, one Diricke Gerritson of Enchuson in Holland, being Godfather unto Francis Kinges wife, comming newly from China, desired the said Francis and his wife to come and dine with him at his house without the towne, [where as then he dwelt], and among the rest had mee, [minding to bee merrie and made us good cheare]: but because the honest Damsell Francis Kinges wife, made her excuse, that she might not with her credit come where Batchelers wee, for that they had no such use in India, he desired mee to hold him excused till another time. They being there at this feast, with the mother in law, and her sonne, & their houshold of slaves that waited uppon them, as the maner of India is. After dinner was ended, and they well in drinke, they went to walke in the fields, where not far from thence there stood a house of pleasure that had neyther dore nor window, but almost fallen downe for want of reparations, having on the backe side therof a faire garden full of Indian trees and fruites: the house and garden Francis Kinges father in law had bought in his life time for a small peece of mony, for as I say, it was not much worth: thether they went,

and caused their pots and their pans with meat and drinke to be brought with them, being minded all that day to make merrie therein, as indeede they did. In the meane time it was my fortune with a friend of mine [to walke] in the fieldes, and to passe by the house, wherein they were, not thinking any company had bin there, & going by Francis King being all drunken, came forth and saw me, wherewith he ranne and caught me by the cloke, & perforce would have me in, & made me leave my companion, & so brought me into the garden, where their wives and his mother in law, with their slaves sate, [playing upon certaine] Indian Instruments, being verie merrie: but I was no sooner espied by them, but the young woman presently went away to hide herselfe for her credits sake, according to their manner, as their manner is when any stranger commeth into the house. Not long after supper was made ready of such as they had brought with them, although the day was not so far spent, and the table cloth was laid uppon a matte lying on the ground: for that (as I said before) there was neyther table, bench, window, nor dore within the house. The meate being brought in, every man sate downe, only Francis Kinges wife excused her selfe, that I had shamed her, and desired that she might not come in, saying for that time shee would eate there with the slaves, and although her husband would gladly have had her come in among us, thereby to shew that he was not iealous of her, [yet shee would not, so that] seeing her excuse he let her rest, saying [it were best to let her stay there, because] shee is ashamed. While we sate at supper where the slaves served us, going and comming to and fro, [and bringing such thinges as we wanted] out of the place where this honest woman was, her husband thinking shee had taken pains to make it ready, it was nothing so, for that while we were merry together, not thinking any hurt, in came Antonio Fragoso with a naked Rapier under his cloake; it being yet daylight, and in presence of all the slaves,both theirs and mine, without anie feare of us led her away by the hand into one of the chambers of the house, having neyther doore, flore nor window, and there putting off the cloth that she had about her middle (which he laid uppon the ground to keepe her from fowling of her body) not being once ashamed before the slaves, neyther fearing any danger, he tooke his pleasure of her: but if any mischance had happened, that any of the slaves had marked it and bewraied it, the said Anthoie had tenne or twelve souldiers his companions and friendes not farre from thence, which with a whistle or any other

token would have slaine us all, and taken the woman with him, which is their dayly proffit in India, but we had better fortune: for that hee dispatched his affaires so well with her, that wee knew it not, and had leysure to depart as he came, without any trouble, and she well pleased therewith: and when the slaves asked her how shee durst bee so bold to doe such a thing, considering what dangr of life shee then was in, shee answered them that shee cared not for her life, so shee might have her pleasure, and sying that her husband was but a drunkard, and not worthie of her, and that she had used the company of that fine lustie youth for the space of foure yeres together, and for his sake she said shee would not refuse to die: yet had she not then beene married to Francis King full foure yeares, neyther was shée at that time above fifteene or sixteene yeares of age. Not long after shee had done, shee came into the garden, and as it should seeme, had cleane forgotten her former shame, where she began both to sing and dance, shewing herselfe very merry: wherewith all the companie was [very well] pleased, specially her husband [that commended her for it]. When evening was come, every man tooke his leave, and departed to his lodging, and [when wee were gone] wee chanced by our slaves to understand the truth of the fact [before rehearsed], and what danger we had escaped: whereat we wondred much, and Francis King himselfe began to be somewhat suspicious of the matter, being secretlie advertised of his wives behaviour, but hee knew not with whome she had to doe, nor once mistrusted this Anthonie Fragoso, thinking him to be the best friend hee had in all the world: yea, and that more is, hee durst not breake his minde to any but onely unto him, of whome in great secret he asked counsell, saying, that he understood, and had well found that his wife behaved her selfe dishonestlie, asking him what he were best to doe, and told him further, that he meant to dissemble the matter for a time, to see if hee could take them together, thereby to kill them both, which the other counselled him to doe, promising him his help and furtherance, and to bee secret therein, and so they departed. Anthonio Fragoso went presently unto his wife, and shewed her what had past betweene her husband and him, where they concluded uppon that which after they brought to passe, thinking it the best course to prevent him. Now so it hapned, that in an evening in the month of August, 1588, Francis King had provided a rosted Pig for supper in his own house: whereunto he invited this Anthonio Fragoso, and his mother in law, who as it seemeth, was of counsell

with them in this conspiracie, and the principall cause of the Tragedy, although [very stoutly and] boldly shee denied it afterwards. They being at supper and very merrie, at the same time it was my chance to suppe in a certaine place with a Dutch painter, whether Francis King sent us a quarter of the Pigge, praying us to eate it for his sake, [and to be merrie:] he that brought it being one of our owne house. They had caused him to drinke of a certaine wine that was mingled with the Hearbe Deutroa (Datura), thereby to bereave poore Francis of his wittes, and so to effect their accursed device: for as it appeared, hee that brought the Pigge came halfe drunke, and out of his wittes, whereby we perceaved that all was not well.

To conclude, the Hearbe beganne to worke, so that of force hee (Francis King) must needs sleep, and the companie beeing departed, shee shutte his trappe doore, as ordinarily he used to doe, and laid the key under his pillow, and went to Bedde with his loving wife: where presently hee fell on sleepe like a dead man, partly by meanes of the Deutroa, and partly because hee had drunke well. About eleaven of the Clocke in the night, Anthonie Fragoso all armed, and another good friend of his, not knowing (as hee confessed) what Anthonio meant to doe, [and] came to the doore of Francis Kinges house, and knocked softly, and willed the slaves that slept below to open the dore: but they answered him their master was a bedde, and that the trappe doore was shut on the in side. Francis his wife that slept not, when she heard it, ran to the window and willed him to bring a ladder and clime up, which he presently did, and she holp him in, where shee tooke him about the necke kissing him, and bad him welcome, leading him in by the hand, and bad him welcome, leading him in by the hand, where her husband slept little thinking on the villanie pretended by his wife, and such as he held to bee his best friend[s], and to be briefe shee said unto him: There lieth the drunkard and the Hereticke, that thought to bring us to our endes, thereby to seperate us from our love and pleasures, now revenge your selfe on him if you love me, and presently bee thrust him into the body with his Rapier, cleane through the breast, so that it came out behind at his backe, and [being not content therwith,] gave him another thrust, that went in at the one side, and out at the other side, and so [at the least] 4 or 5 thrusts more after he was dead: whereby the [poore] innocent man ended his dayes: which done, they took all the stones & Diamonds that hee had of divers men to worke, as also to sell: which amounted

at the least to the value of 40 thousand Pardawes, and tooke Franci his own Rapier [that hung by him] & put it into his hand, a if the would make men beleeve that hee would have killed them, & that i their owne defence they had slaine him, but it was well knowne to th contrarie: for that the slaves being below, heard all that had pas They tooke with them also the childe, being of two yeares old, an went out of the house, but they had not gone farre, but they left th childe lying at a doore in the street, where in the morning it wa found, & althogh the slaves made a great noise at their mistrisse flight, & went to fetch the officers, yet they could not find them, fo that night the murtherers went & knocked at ye Iesuits cloister, desirin them to take them in, & gave them the most part of the stones, sayin they had slain the man in their owne defence, but the Iesuites would not receive them, although they tooke the stones, of purpose to giv them againe to the owners. In the morning it was knowne through al the towne not without great admiration, and although they sough diligently in all places [where they thought or suspected them to lodge], yet they could not find them: but not long after they were seene in the towne of Chaul, which is about thirty miles Northwarde from Goa, where they walked freely in the streetes, without any trouble: for there was all covered, and few there are that look after such matters, [though they bee as cleare as the Sunne]. The dead bodie lay in that sort till the next morning, & we Dutch men were forced to see him buried, for the mother in lawe would not give one peny towards it, making as though she had not any thing to doe with him, but holpe the murtherer both with money and victuailes, therewith to travell unto Portingal, and so he sayled in the fleete with us: for I saw him in the Island of S. Helena, as bold and lusty as if no such matter had beene committed by him, and so arived in Portingall, not any man speaking against him: having also promised both the mother, and wife of Francis King, that hee would come againe with the Kinges pardon, and marrie her: which I doubt not of, if hee once went about it. And thus Francis King ended his travell: which I thought good to set downe at large, that thererby you may perceyve the boldnes and inclination of the Indian women: for there passeth not one yeare [over their heades], but that in India there are [at the least] twentie or thirtie men poysoned, and murthereed by their wives, onely to accomplish their filthie desires. Likewise there are yearely many women killed by their husbands being taken in adulterie, but they care not a haire for it, saying with

great boldnes, that there is no pleasanter death then to die in that manner: for thereby (they say) they do shew that they die for pure love. And to shew that this honest woman was not of this badde inclination alone, you shall understande that a brother of hers, being but fourteene or fifteene yeares of age, was openly burnt in Goa for sodome or buggery, which was done when Francis King and his father in lawe were living: yet could not Francis thereby bee warned to take heede of his wife and that kindred: for as it seemeth [it was God's will] he should end his dayes in that manner.

From

'Akbar and the Jesuits'

An Account of the Jesuit Missions

By Father Pierre du Jarric

(Translated from the French by C.H. Payne. Edited by Sir F. Denison Ross and Eileen Power.)

Three Jesuit Missions arrived at the Moghul Court in 1580, 1591 and 1595. Father du Jarric compiled his 'Histoire' on the Jesuit Missions from various source materials. 'Akbar and the Jesuits' is based on the letters of the priests and the reports sent to the General of the Society at Rome and by the Provincials of Goa.

CHAPTER X

An Embassy to Goa

About this time, Father Emmanuel Pigneiro, who had remained at Lahor, came to the camp, partly for the comfort of seeing Father Hierosme Xauier, for it was nearly three years since they had met, and partly to visit the King (Akbar). The latter had been apprised of his departure from Lahor, and was the first to inform Father Xauier of his coming. On his arrival, the two Fathers went to pay their respects to His Majesty; and as it was not customary to appear before him empty handed, they took with them as their present a picture of our Lady very beautifully executed on paper. The King was seated at a window, listening, as was his custom, to those who sought speech with him. As soon as he saw Father Pigneiro, he invited him to approach, receiving him with much kindness, and bidding him uncover his head, and show him the present he had brought. On seeing the picture of Our Lady, he bowed his head and raised his hands to his face, which, amongst these peope, is a sign of great reverence. He then ordered the picture to be taken away and placed in his lodging; for he was seated upon his throne, and he deemed it unseemly that the picture of the Lady Mary should be below him. As

he had ordered it to be removed so soon, the Fathers feared that it had not greatly pleased him, for the picture was on paper only, and, being drawn in ink, was uncoloured. Accordingly, they went on the following evening to his lodging, where he sat in less seat, and where those who spoke to him could come nearer to his person. Here none but the most favoured persons were received. The Fathers, nevertheless, obtained entrance, and presented to him, besides some smaller gifts, another picture, this time of our Lady of Lorete, painted on gilded calaim. Calaim is a metal which comes from China. Though it resembles tin, it is a different metal, and contains a large proportion of copper. Nevertheless, it is white, and in India they make it into money. It can also be gilded, like silver. But to resume. Father Xauier addressing the King said that Father Pigneiro had come from Lahor to kiss his Majesty's feet, and begged that he might be permitted to approach. "By all means let him do so," replied the King; whereon the Father advanced and, bending down, embraced his feet. The King looked kindly on him, and in token of his good will laid his hands upon his shoulders, a mark of favour which he bestowed only on his chief captains and favourites. On seeing the picture of Our Lady, he bowed low, and taking it into his hands, placed it on his head. Then boldly, in the presence of the assembled captains and lords, he did reverence to it with clasped hands, paying it outwardly as much honour as though he had been a Christian, except that he did not go down on his knees, for this is not their custom even in their mosques and places of prayer. When the Father said that this Lady ought to be the guardian of his realm, he replied that he knew well that the Lady Mary was worthy of great veneration, and that it was for this reason that he had ordered the removal of the picture they had brought to him the previous day, for it did not seem fitting that he should be on a high seat, and the picture of Our Lady below him. He then placed the cover on the picture with his own hands, and gave it in charge to one of his personal attendants. After this, he asked various questions about the Pope, desiring to know, amongst other things, what ceremonial was observed when he was visited by the Emperor; and on being told that the Emperor kissed the Pope's foot, he exclaimed, "Yes! That is because the Christians regard the Pope as the Vicar of the Lord Jesus." The Father then explained that the Pope, to show that he does not regard such homage as due to himself, except in so far as he is our Lord's Vicar, wears a small cross on his foot, and that it is

this cross that is kissed. On hearing this, the King and those with him marvelled greatly. While they were still discussing the cross, and the reverence in which we hold it, a young noble who had been a disciple of Father Pigneiro, and who happens to be present, made the sign of the cross. The King asked if he had done it correctly; and the Father replied that he had. He then asked why it was made on the forehead, the mouth, and the breast, all of which was explained to him.

So greatly did this powerful monarch desire to make himself master of Goa and the Portuguese possessions in India, with the regions adjacent thereto, that he constantly referred to the subject when conversing with his friends. On one occasion, while speaking of these things to the nobles assembled in his palace, he told them with bold assurance that, having conquered the kingdom of Deccan, he would have little difficulty in overcoming Idalcan, after which he would soon have Goa, and all the Portuguese possessions in those parts. Now a certain Portuguese soldier, who on account of some misconduct had been obliged to quit India, happened to be present at this conversation, and hearing the King's remark, begged permission to speak. When this was granted, he said in the Persian language, "Your Majesty appears to be very confident of accomplishing these designs; but, as we say in my country, there is such a thing as reckoning without one's host. If your Majesty's opinion of the valour of the Portuguese is as high as some people say, how can you expect to get the better of them so easily? Even though you regard them as so many chicken, yet chicken will peck before they allow themselves to be caught." "I have no intention," said the King, "of engaging them hand to hand. I shall overcome them by hunger." "Excellent! Sire," said the soldier. "You are of much the same mind as they are; for they intend to overcome your Majesty by thirst." (This was, I conclude, an allusion to the dryness of the Mogor's territories.) The King was delighted with this repartee, and made much of the Portuguese soldier. Nevertheless, the conquests of the Portuguese was at the root of all his designs. With this end in view, he frequently sent his agents to Goa, ostensibly as ambassadors, but whose real business was to keep an eye on what the Portuguese were doing, and to ascertain their military strength. He always sent his agents at times when ships were said to be due from Portugal, so that they might take note of what came in them, whether in the way of merchandise, or men.

It was in pursuance of this object that he despatched an

ambassador who reached Goa at the end of the month of May, of the year 1601. The ambassador (Sultan Hamid) sent on this occasion was from the kingdom of Cambaya, a person of great wealth and influence, a Guzarate by birth, and of the sect of the Saracens. The alleged object of the mission was to establish a permanent peace by land and by sea with the Portuguese. The ambassador was also to make inquiry as to the most suitable present that his Majesty could make to the King of Portugal, to whom he contemplated sending an ambassador in order to confirm and strengthen their alliance.

The mission was received at Goa with great magnificence. It was met and escorted through the town by an imposing company of Portuguese nobles, and the ambassador was accorded all the honours usually paid to the representative of a great monarch. But the chief feature of his reception was a terrific salute of artillery which was continued throughout the day, both from the guns in the city and from those in other parts of the island; for the Portuguese had a great store of artillery of high quality. The ambassador fully appreciated the significance of this music. The gifts which he presented to the Viceroy on behalf of the Prince were some rich carpets, a panther which had been trained to the chase, another small panther, and a very valuable horse.

But far more valuable were the gift which Benoist de Goes, the companion of Father Xauier (who accompanied the ambassador by the King's command), presented to our Saviour and the Church; for he brought with him to Goa many half-casts of both sexes, the children of Portuguese, born amongst the thorny paths of Paganism and Mahometanism, who, upon the reduction of the fortress, became the slaves of the Great Mogor (Moghul), who handed them over to the said Benoist de Goes. These, after receiving some instruction in the Christian faith, were all baptised. The Viceroy showed them much kindness, and signified his desire to stand godfather to them. Amongst them was a Portuguese Jew who was ninety years of age. For more than forty years he had publicly professed Judaism; but God at last shed the light of heaven upon him, and he was converted to Christianity, and baptised. The letter which the ambassador carried to the Viceroy, setting forth the object of his mission, was to the following effect: -

'The message of the great Lord of the law of Mahomet, high and mighty King, slayer of hostile Kings, to whom the Great pay homage, whose dignity is unsurpassed, who is exalted above other kings, and whose government is renowned throughout the world, to Ayres de Saldagna Viceroy:-

'Meeting with favour and grace at the hands of the King of Kings, honoured and privileged by him, know that, by the grace of God, all the ports of Indostan, from Cinde to Chatigan and Pegu, are under our high prosperity; and it is always in our royal heart, and before our eyes, that the rich merchants and those who traffic may be able to go and come with all assurance and safety, so that they may continually pray to God for the increase of our prosperity, and especially the inhabitants of the kingdoms of the Portuguese, who, outside this kingdom, cannot go and come freely, and who are accustomed to navigate the sea of Indostan. [For this reason our royal honour has willed and arranged that one of our servants and courtiers has been sent as ambassador to confim once again the basis of the alliance, so that there may henceforth be no occasion to doubt it. On this occasion the Father Benoist de Goes has been sent together with our trusted servant Cogetqui Soldan Hama to your parts, where, after informing themselves with all diligence of things as they pass, they may accurately advise us, so that conformably to the status of each one, our good fortune may make provision for the going and the sending.] And if there are any skilled craftsmen who desire to visit our royal court, which is like the mansions of the blest, he shall give them all that they need in food and apparel, and bring them with him to this our court, the fulcrum of the world, on the understanding that, having been in our service, they shall have to leave to return to their country whenever it shall be their will to do so. It is fitting that they should be given good expectations, so that they may desire, of their own accord, to kiss the buttress of our throne. And as to whatsoever our ambassador may wish to purchase in the way of precious stones, fabrics, and other things of a like valuable nature, our desire is that he may be given all assistance therein, so that he may do his business and return speedily, since he is in our royal service. As to other matters, he will make them known to you by word of mouth. The 9th day of Fauardi of God, of the forth-sixth year of the era."

Such was the style in which this Prince wrote.

CHAPTER XVII

Events of the Year 1602

Although in the conversion of souls there was not so much progress in this land of the Saracens, who are as hard as diamonds to work upon, as in other lands where this sect has not taken root, yet God did not withhold his mercies from his sheep scattered in this vast forest of unbelief.

In the year 1602, there were at Rantambur some forty persons, for the most part children or grandchildren of Portuguese, with their wives and relatives, who had been taken by the Great Mogor (Akbar) at the capture of the fortress of Syr, and had been enslaved. For though the King had led some of his prisoners to Agra, where he afterwards set them at liberty, trusting that they would not run away, he left the majority of them in the fortress of Rantambur, where they would have been completely forgotten, if the Fathers had not borne them in mind. Deeming the season of Lent, which was then approaching, a suitable time for visiting them, the Fathers went to the King and begged that, in as much as Christians are bound at this season to fulfil the principal obligations of their law, namely to confess and to communicate, his Majesty would be pleased to permit one of them to visit these Portuguese prisoners in order to instruct them, and enable them to do their duty as good Christians. The visit, they said, would not occupy more than twenty days. In reply, the King told them that the prisoners might be brought to Agra, which was what the Fathers most desired. They were straightaway sent for; and with them came five Turcs, that is to say, Turcs of Europe; for two kinds of Turkish soldiers are found in India, those of Asia, to whom the name Turc is given, and those of Europe, who are mostly from Constantinople, which has been called the New Rome, on which account they are called Rumes both by Indians and Portuguese.

These five Turcs, then, being also prisoners, were, through the interposition of the Fathers, brought to Agra, for which they showed themselves very grateful; for if they had not found this means of liberation, they could have hoped for no other. The prisoners were all brought in chains; but these were taken off at the solicitation of the Fathers, who also obtained the King's consent to their being employed in his service, and receiving food and clothing. In granting this petition, the King told the prisoners publicly that though they deserved

death, because they had killed many of his people in the war, yet because of his love for the Fathers, he gave them not only life but liberty. It was the wish of one of the King's *maistres d'hostel* to place them in the service of an Armenian, who was the lord of certain villages; but the Fathers begged the King that they might remain near them, so that they might instruct them in the faith; since, if they were separated from them, they would soon become more uncivilised than they had been before. The King granted their request, and the prisoners were lodged close to them; and after they had instructed them in their faith, of which they knew little or nothing, they baptised all who had not been baptised before, which included the greater portion of them.

Now since these, and certain others who had come before, had been captured in Breampur and taken to places further south, their wives, daughters, and other relations had been left behind, and were in great need and peril. Accordingly, the Fathers, being unable as yet to withdraw these, despatched letters of credit to them, to provide them with a means of livelihood until they could be sent for. This could not be done for some time, owing to the debts which they and their husbands had incurred; for it was necessary to wait until these had all been paid. Subsequently, by the will of God, a young Armenian, of a very honourable disposition, whom the Fathers had commissioned to assist these poor people, brought them all back with him, trusting to the Fathers to repay him what he had spent, which they did very willingly, thanking him for having done so good a work. After they had arrived, and baptism had been administered to those who had not received it, they were re-married, according to the laws of the Church, to those who had also been baptised. Finally, and at their expense, which was a great blessing to these poor people; and they regarded it as a sign of God's special providence that in their captivity and misery He raised up the Fatehrs to succour them, who not only taught them the way of salvation, but ministered to their temporal needs with true paternal charity. Who can help marvelling at God's wisdom in using these means to make Himself known to these poor men and women, sprung from the Portuguese race, who, but yesterday, were dwelling amongst infidels, known only as Franks (for so they call Christians in these parts), without baptism, and without any knowledge of God; and who, to-day, are living like honest men, keeping the commandments of God and the Church, and recognising very clearly the truth of the Christian faith, and the grace which God has

shown them in receiving them into His fold?

* * *

In the same year 1602, two ships of the Portuguese navy, while sailing northwards in the gulf of Cambaya, were wrecked on a portion of the coast which was under the sway of the King of Mogor. Some fifty Portuguese and fifteen servants contrived to reach land, but were instantly made prisoners by the captain who governed that country in the name of the King. The latter, to whom the circumstance was at once reported, ordered the prisoners to be sent to him. In the course of their journey, the poor fellows endured so many hardships that when they reached Lahor their plight was pitiful to behold. The King gave orders that they were to be imprisoned; but Father Xauier, who happened to be there, begged that they might be placed in his charge, promising to deliver them up to his Majesty's officers whenever so ordered. His request was granted, and the Fathers accordingly took the prisoners to their house where they sheltered them, and later transferred them to another house which the King placed at their disposal. They were supported throughout at the expense of the Fathers, but for whom, they would have perished miserably from hunger and other afflictions. That they found such a refuge was a manifestation of the providence of God. Their captains were Louys d'Antas Lobo and George de Castillo. The Fathers strove to secure their freedom, but for a long time their efforts were fruitless, since they lacked the wherewithal to make rich presents; for where avarice and disloyalty reign, nothing can be obtained except by money. The King, however, sent them four hundred *xerafins* for the purchase of clothing, and consented, at the instance of the Fathers, to grant the two captains an audience. A substantial donation was also received from the Prince (Jehangir), the eldest son of the King, who, so soon as he heard of the misery of these poor people, sent the Fathers a thousand crowns to relieve their necessities. Eventually, having been detained for more than a year, they were set at liberty. This they owned to the intercession of the Fathers in their behalf, as was stated in the letter which the King gave them when they were released, in which he wrote that he sent them back free men to please the Fathers. In consequence, these good Portuguese and the two captains in particular, knew not how to praise God sufficiently for His mercies, or how to thank the Fathers for their charity, without which they would one and all have died in captivity.

From

'The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. on his Journey to the Court of Akbar'

Translated from the original Latin by
J. H. Hoyland and annotated by **S. N. Banerjee**

The first Jesuit Mission to the court of Akbar left Goa on November 17, 1579 and arrived at Fatepur on February 28, 1580.

Gift of a Bible

When the Fathers had refreshed themselves for a short time from the fatigue of their journey, they were again summoned before the King (Akbar). Whereupon they set their hands to the work on behalf of which they had undertaken so long and tedious a journey. For this purpose they made the following opening. On the 3rd of March they took to the audience chamber a copy of the Holy Bible, written in four languages and bound in seven volumes; this they showed to the King. In the presence of his great nobles and religious leaders Zelaludinus (Jalal-ud-din Akbar) thereupon most devoutly not only kissed the Bible but placed it on his head. He then asked in which volume the Gospel was to be found. When he was shown the right volume, he showed yet more marked reverence to it. Then he told the priests to come with their Bible into his own private room, where he opened the volumes once more with great reverence and joy. He shut them up again very carefully, and deposited them in a beautiful bookcase, worthy of such sacred volumes, which stood in the same private room, where he spent a great deal of his spare time.

Religious Discussion

As a result of this an opportunity was given for a discussion, which was held at night, and in which the priests met the religious teachers and doctors and debated keenly with them the question of the accuracy and authority of the Holy Scriptures, on which the Christian religion is founded and that of the vanity and lies of the book in which the

Musalmans put their faith treating it as though it had been given by God - although (to disregard other points) Muhammad stuffed it with countless fables full of futility and extreme frivolity. It was pointed out that the most ancient books of Moses and the Prophets bear testimony to the Gospel; and that Alcoranus (the Koran) itself, although it contends with the Gospel, and contains teachings so different from and indeed contrary to those of the Gospel, cannot avoid testifying, not only to the truth, but also to the sanctity of the Gospel. For Alcoranus says in more than one place that the Most High God gave the Gospel to Christ, although the author of Alcoranus most foolishly affirms that God gave the Gospel in a complete and finished state to Christ, just as He gave the Torah (that is the law) to Moses, the Zabur (that is the Psalms) to David, and to himself Alfurcanus (the Koran) - for I shall be excused if I mix up so many barbarian names. But indeed no one gave testimony to the truth of Alfurcanus; and so by the grace of God it came about that the opponents of the Fathers were reduced - their arguments against the Gospel having been refuted - to an inability to prove the very points by which they were attempting to defend their own book from attack. Thus, being thrown into confusion by observing the look on the King's face, they retired from the debate, and finally became entirely silent.

After the debate was finished the King retired, taking the priests with him, and said to them, "You have proved your case entirely to my satisfaction, and I am well pleased with the religion contained in your law; but I should advise you to be cautious in speech and action, for your opponents are unscrupulous villains. Now I want more enlightenment on these points - how the Most High God can be both three and one, and how He can have a son, a man born of a virgin. For these ideas are entirely beyond my comprehension." The Fathers replied, "We will be cautious as regards the Musalman religious leaders, as you advise, - not because we are afraid of them for ourselves, but because we wish to obey you. With regard to the other point, about which you ask for information, pray for enlightenment on it from God, who hath abundance and giveth generously to all men; then humbly wait to hear His answer to your prayer."

The King was greatly impressed firstly with the fact that, although the Holy Bible is written in so many languages, yet no contradiction can be detected in it, but every language found in it

expresses one and the same truth; and secondly with the fact that th Fathers were as well acquainted as their Musalman opponents witl the Latin translation of Alfurcanus, which we owe to the grea diligence and accuracy of Saint Bernard. The Musalman leaders wer exceedingly mortified and chagrined by this fact. In addition to thi the Fathers agreed together in their arguments but the Musalman were by no means all of one mind in their defence of Alfurcanus. Th King was greatly displeased by this.

This was what happened at the first discussion with th Musalman religious leaders. Three days later a second discussior was held, about heavenly bliss, which Muhammad most wickedl and lyingly asserted to consist in feasting and impure delights, and in other things absolutely the reverse of the teachings of the Hol Scriptures.

* * *

Akbar's Kindness

Not to go into too many details, the Fathers frequently and freely admonished the King; but their conscientious readiness in doing this never lessened, still less put an end to, the kindly friendship of the King towards them. Nay more, when the King perceived that it was the sincerity of their hearts that led them to feel themselves free to correct him, he took it in such good part that he always seemed not only to favour them, but to heap honours upon them in his desire to show his affection towards them. For when they saluted him, which they did with uncovered heads, he answered with a nod and a bright smile. He did not allow them to keep their heads uncovered when they were in his presence. When a council was being held, or when he summoned them to his private audience-chamber for familiar conversation, he used to make them sit beside him. He shook hands with them cordially and familiarly. He frequently left the public audience-chamber to converse with them in private. Several times he paced up and down with his arm round Rudolf's (Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva) shoulders. Once, when he was in camp, he desired another of the priests, in the middle of a crowd of his nobles, to help him fasten on his sword, which service the Father performed, amidst the envy and wonder of all the courtiers. He wished the priests to be sharers of his inmost thoughts, both in good and ill fortune - no common mark of love and kindness. He ordered his door-keepers to

grant them entrance, whenever they wished, even into the inner courtyard of the palace, where only the most distinguished nobles had the right of entrance. He sent them food from his own table - a mark of distinction which he is said never to have conferred upon anyone before. He visited one of the Fathers when he was ill, and greeted him in Portuguese as a sign of respect. There would have been no end to his gifts, had the Fathers not frequently told him that all they needed was food and clothing, and these of the most simple description. This reply pleased him so much that he repeated it publicly: and each month sent them as much money, under the guise of alms, as he thought would be sufficient for their daily expenses.

* * *

Monserrate has a Discussion with the King

Two days after his son's departure Zelaldinus had the Priest conducted to him by night in order to ask him certain questions, both religious and secular. First of all he had an atlas brought and asked where Portugal was, and where his own kingdom. He wondered how we knew the names of the provinces and cities of India. Then he asked why the Priest was a celibate: for was it not a divine command, as it were, that all men should have wives: and he (the Priest) appeared either to condemn matrimony or to contradict himself when he said that celibacy was good and matrimony also good. The Priest replied, 'Does not your Highness know that, of two good things, one often happens to be better than the other? Thus silver is good, but gold is better: whilst wisdom is better than gold, and virtue than anything else. The moon is beautiful: but the sun is more beautiful, and superior to her.' The King agreed to this; whereupon the Priest added, 'Therefore priests remain celibate and unmarried, that they may follow better things: that they may imitate Christ: and that, free from the cares of a wife, children and family, they may spend their time apart from all desire. For by the sixth commandment of God all luxury is forbidden to Christians, and indeed to all mankind.' The King here interjected, 'You declare, do you not, that Christ is God. Do you not act rashly and insolently in wishing to be like him?' The Priest replied, 'We do indeed believe and asseverate that Christ is God, but we declare at the same time that he is man. And, being man, he practised chastity as an example to us, and also praised it highly very many times in the

Gospel. As regards his being God, it would indeed be the mark of a proud and insolent mind to wish to be like Christ. It is indeed an impossible ambition; and hence to entertain it shows the height of folly and madness. But on the other hand it shows piety and devotion to follow his footsteps in practising the virtues which he himself practised. For one of the many causes which led him to wish to become man was his desire that (since we cannot imitate his work of creating and ruling the universe, and the other functions of his Deity) we might imitate him in the attributes and activities of his true manhood, such as his humility, self-sacrifice, chastity, poverty, obedience and other allied virtues. No painter or sculptor, however accurately and carefully he many paint his picture or carve his statue, endeavours actually to appropriate for himself the strength and virtue of nature. It has been found that, though we all struggle with our hearts to imitate Christ in those virtues which can be reproduced in a man, yet we are left far behind by him. Wherefore Christ greatly commends our endeavour to imitate himself, and is far from imputing it to pride or insolence or rashness.'

The King then added, 'The descent from Adam thus perishes in you.' The Priest replied, 'What if I had died when I was a boy eight years old, or (as frequently happens) just at the time of my marriage? What if my wife had been barren, or I myself, as many are? What if I had been born, or made, a eunuch, like the many that are in your palace? Let not your Highness mistakenly imagine that marriage is enjoined. God indeed allowed much stress to be laid on the value of matrimony under the law of nature, in order that the human race might be increased: and also, amongst the Jews, under the law of Moses, in order that the religion and worship of the true God might be extended. But under the law of the Gospel, which excels all other laws as the substance excels the shadow, the human race having been sufficiently increased, Christ laid down the principle in regard to marriage that each man may freely follow that course he chooses, and stop where he wishes.' Here the King interrrupted (and not at all to the point), 'If God ordered anyone to cross a river, he would be a sinner if he disobeyed.' The Priest replied, 'That is true; but I declared a few moments since that marriage is not enjoined. Nor must you imagine that celibates, though they have no wives, lack offspring. For there is a spiritual begetting; and those whom a man instructs in the faith and virtues of Christianity are in a manner called his sons; for

those whom he baptizes and whose confessions he hears are not less his spiritual sons than if he had begotten them by his body. Permit me to declare to you, O King, that if you listen to the advice of Rudolf and myself, you will be more truly and spiritually the son of Rudolf than the son of King Emaumus (Humayun). For those who are only parents by nature, merely beget a body: but he who baptizes you will beget a soul. It may of course happen that some are compelled and commanded to marry.' 'Who?' asked the King. The Priest replied, 'A king who must have an heir for the sake of peace and tranquility of the state. For this reason learned men urged Henry, King of Portugal, though he was a priest, to marry, and (in order that he might do so) to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, who has been constituted interpreter and high judge and moderator in such matters by Christ himself, whose representative he is. Yet King Henry was old and weak, and devoted to chastity, as he had ever been, and thus he died of old age still unmarried, as he desired.' This example was quoted because Zelaldinus was wont to respect and praise King Henry's sanctity, fortitude and constancy, as though he had been a second St. Sebastian.

When the question of celibacy and marriage had been so thoroughly dealt with that the King had no objections left to bring forward, he made detailed enquiries about the Last Judgment, whether Christ would be the Judge, and when it would occur. Having dealt with the other points the Priest said, 'God alone knows the time when the judgment will take place: and in his unsearchable wisdom he has desired this to be hidden from us. Christ himself refused to make it known to his disciples. He did not wish either that we should become negligent through knowing it to be far distant, or that we should be saddened by knowing that it is near at hand. But he wished us so prepare ourselves for that day that we may make good use of the gifts which he has given us, and abstain from sin and from all that he has forbidden, being in fear of the Judgment, though we know not when it will come. Yet signs shall precede that day which will enable men to conclude with confidence that it is at hand.' The King asked what these signs should be. The Priest replied, 'Christ mentioned especially wars and rebellions, the fall of kingdoms and nations, the invasion, devastation and conquest of nation by nation and kingdom by kingdom: and these things we see happening very frequently in our time.'

From

'The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India'

Edited by Edward Grey

(From the Old English translation by G. Havers)

The Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle arrived in India in January 1623 and left in November, 1624.)

Portuguese Vanity

The people is numerous (in 1640 AD an estimated 190,000), but the greatest part are slaves, a black and lewd (ignorant) generation, going naked for the most part, or else very ill clad, seeming to me rather a disparagement than an ornament to the City. *Portugals* there are not many; they us'd to be sufficiently rich, but of late, by reason of many losses by the incursions of the *Dutch* and *English* in these Seas, they have not much wealth, but are rather poor. Nevertheless they live in outward appearance with splendor enough, which they may easily do both in regard of the plentifulness of the Country, and because they make a shew of all they have; however, in secret they indure many hardships, and some there are who, to avoid submitting to such employments as they judge unbecoming to their gravity, being all desirous to be accounted Gentlemen here, lead very wretched lives, undergoing much distress, and being put to beg every Day in the Evening; a thing which in other Countries would be accounted unhappy and more indecent, not to say shameful, than to undertake any laudable profession of a Mechanick Art. They all profess Arms, and are Souldiers though marry'd, and few, except Priests and Doctors of Law and Physick, are seen without a Sword; even so the Artificers and meanest Plebians: as also silk clothes are the general wear of almost everybody; which I take notice of, because to see a Merchant and a Mechanick in a dress fit for an Amorato (dandy) is a very extravagant thing, yet amongst them, very ordinary, the sole dignity

of being *Portugals* sufficing them (as they say) to value themselves as much as Kings and more.

Portuguese Profligacy

April the ninth (1623). Early in the Morning F. *Fra. Leandro* sent a *Palanchino*, or litter, to fetch *Mariam Tinatin*, that she might go to Mass at his Church, and afterwards repair to the House of a *Portugal* Gentlewoman, called Sig[ra] *Lena da Cugna*, living near the discalceated *Carmelites* and much devoted to them, whose House also stood right over against that which he intended to take for me. And this was done because the *Portugals*, who in the matter of Government took with great diligence upon the least motes, without making much reckoning afterwards of great beams, held it inconvenient for the said *Mariam Tinatin* to live with me in the same House, although she had been brought up always in our House from a very little Child and as our own Daughter. For being themselves in these matters very unrestrain'd (not sparing their nearest kindred, nor, as I have heard, their own Sisters, much less Foster-children in their Houses) they conceive that all other Nations are like themselves; wherefore, in conformity to the use of the Country and not to give offence, it was necessary for us to be separated; the rather too because strangers, who amongst the *Portugals* are not very well look'd upon and through their ignorance held worse than in our Countries Hereticks are, may easily expect that all evil is thought of them and that all evil may easily befall them in these parts; so that 'tis requisite to live with circumspection. And this may serve for advice to whoever shall travel to these Regions.

The Rainy Season

May the three and twentieth. The Sun entering into *Gemini*, I observ'd that the Rain began in *Goa*, and it happens not alike in all the Coast of *India*; for it begins first in the more Southerly parts of *Cape Comorin*, and follows afterwards by degrees, according as places extend more to the North; so that in *Cambaia*, and other more northern parts, it begins later than in *Goa*; and the further any place lyes North, the later it begins there. Whence it comes to pass that in the *Persian* Ephemerides, or Almanacks, they use to set down the beginning of *Parsecal*, or the time of Rain in India, at the fifteenth of their third Moneth, call'd *Cordad*, which falls upon the third of our *June*; because

they have observ'd it to be so in the more Northern parts of *India*, as i Cambaia, Surat and the like, where the Persians have more commerc then in other more Southern places. In Goa likewise for the most pa the beginning of the Rain is in the first days of June; yet sometimes anticipates, and sometimes falls something later, with little differenc 'Tis observ'd by long experience that this Rain in India, after havin lasted some days at first, ceases, and there return I know not hov many days of fair weather; but, those being pass'd, it begins agai more violent than ever, and continues for a long time together. By thi Rain, as I observ'd, the heat diminisheth, and the Earth, which befor was very dry and all naked, becomes cloth'd with new verdure anc various colours of pleasant flowers, and especially the Air become more healthful, sweet and more benigne both to sound and infirm The arm of the Sea, or River (Mandovi and Zuari), which encompasse the Island of , and is ordinarily salt, notwithstanding the falling o the other little fresh Rivers into it, with the inundation of great stream which through the great Rain flow from the circumjacent Land, is made likewise wholly fresh; whence the Country-people, who wait for this time, derive water out of it for their Fields of Rice in the Island of *Goa* and the neighbouring parts,which, being temper'd with the sweet moisture, on a sudden become all green.

A Goodly Prospect

In the evening I went with Sig. *Ruy Gomez Baroccio*, a Priest and Brother of Sig. *Antonio Baroccio*, to the Church of Saint *James*, which stands somewhat distant without the City, upon the edge of the Island towards the main Land of *Adil-Sciah*, which is on the other side of a little River, or Arm of the Sea. For which reason the Island is in this as well as may other dangerous places fortifi'd with strong walls; and here there is a Gate upon the pass, which is almost full of people going and coming from the main Land, and is call'd by the Indians *Benastarim*, by which name some of our Historians mention it in their writings concerning these parts, as *Osorius Maffaeus*, etc., which Gate, as likewise many others which are upon divers places of passage about the Island, is guarded continually with Souldiers, commanded by a Captain who hath the care thereof, and for whom there is built a fine House upon the walls of the Island, which in this place are very high, forming a kind of Bastion, or rather a Cavaliero, or mount for Ordnance; not very well design'd, but sufficiently strong, wherein are

kept pieces of Artillery for the defence of the place.

We went to visit the said Captain, who was then *Sig. Manoel Pereira de la Gerda*, and from the high Balconies of his House and the Bastion we enjoy'd the goodly prospect, of the Fields round about, both of the Island and the Continent, it being discernible to a great distance. The Captain entertain'd us with the Musick of his three Daughters, who sung and play'd very well after the *Portugal* manner upon the Lute, after which we return'd home. About the Church of Saint *James* are some few habitations in form of a little Town, which is also call'd *Santiago;* and the way from thence to the City is a very fine walk, the Country being all green, and the way-sides beset with Indian Nut-trees (which the *Portugals* call *Palms*, and their fruit *Cocco*), the Gardens and the Houses of Pleasure on either side contributing to the delightfulness thereof, being full of sundry fruit-trees unknown to us; as also because in Winter-time the very walls of the Gardens are all green with moss and other herbs growing there, which indeed is one of the pleasantest sights that I have seen in my days, and the rather because 'tis natural and without artifice. The same happens, I believe, not in the Island only, but in all the Region round about.

In the field adjoyning to the City, near the ruines of a deserted building, once intended for a Church, but never finish'd, is a work of the Gentiles, sometimes Lords of this Country, namely one of the greatest Wells that ever I beheld, round, and about twenty of my Paces in Diameter, and very deep; it hath Parapets, or Walls, breast-high, round about, with Gates, at one of which is a double pair of Stairs leading two ways to the bottom, to fetch water when it is very low.

A Masquerade

On the twelfth of *February*, in the presence of the Vice-Roy and of all the Nobility and People of the City, (for whose conveniency scaffolds and seats were erected in the Piazza round about the Theatre, both for Men and Women) the first Act of the above-said Comedy, or Tragedy, (as they said) of the Life of *Santo Sciavier* was represented. Of which Tragedy, which was a composition represented by about thirty persons, all very richly clothed and decked with Jewels, no less extravagant than grand, whereunto they entered to act the rare Musick, gallant dances, and various contrivances of Charriots, Ships, Galleys, Pageants, Heavens, Hells, Mountains and Clouds, I forbear to speak, because I have the printed Relations by me.

On the eighteenth of *Febraury*, the Vice-Roy being indispos'd, the proceedings were suspended and nothing was done. But on the three following dayes, by two Acts a day, the whole Tragedy was rehearsed. It comprehended not onely the whole Life, but also the Death of *San Francesco Sciavier* (Francis Xavier), the transportation of his Body[1] to his ascension into Heaven, and, lastly, his Canonization.

A Kanarese Wedding

On *May* the nineteenth (1624), one *Ventura da Costa*, a Native of *Canara*, was married. He was a domestick servant to *Sig. Alvaro da Costa*, a Priest and our Friend, Lord of a Village near *Goa*; for whose Sake, who was willing to honour his servant's wedding in his own House, I and some other friends went thither to accompany the Bride and the Bridegroom to the Church of *San Biagio*, a little distant in another Village, which was in the Parish of the Bride, where the Ceremonies were perform'd in the Evening for coolness' sake. The Company was very numerous, consisting of many *Portugal* Gentlemen, such, perhaps, as few other *Canarini* have had at their marriages. The Bride and Bridegroom came under Umbrellas of Silk, garnish'd with silver, and in other particulars the Ceremonies were according to the custom of the *Portugals*; onely I observ'd that, according to the use of the Country, in the Company before the Married Persons there march'd a party of fourteen, or sixteen, men oddly cloth'd after the Indian fashion, to wit naked from the girdle upward, and their Bodies painted in a pattern with white Sanders, and adorn'd with bracelets and necklaces of God and Silver, and also with flowers and turbants upon their heads, in several galant fashions, and streamers of several colours hanging behind them. From the girdle downwards, over the hose which these *Canarini* use to wear short, like ours, they had variously colour'd clothes girt about them with streamers, flying about and hanging down a little below the knee; the rest of the leg was naked, saving that they had sandals on their feet. These danc'd all the way both going and returning, accompanying their dances with chaunting many Verses in their own Language, and beating the little sticks which they carry'd in their hands, afte the fashion of the Country, formerly taken notice of at *Ikkeri*. And indeed the dances of these *Canarini* are pleasant enough; so that in the Festivities made at *Goa* for the Canonization of

1. The body was buried in Malacca in 1552, and transported to Goa in 1553.

the Saints *Ignatio* and *Sciavier*, though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous, yet, in my opinion, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many pretty and jovial dances which interven'd in this Tragedy. They marry'd Couple being return'd from Church to the Bride House, we were entertain'd with a handsome Collation of Sweet-meats in the yard, which was wholly cover'd over with a Tent, and adorn'd with Trees and green boughs, the Company sitting round, and the marry'd Couple, on one side at the upper end, upon a great Carpet under a Canopy. After which we all return'd home, and the Husband stay'd that night to sleep in his Wife's House.

A Priest-ridden City

On *February* the nineteenth a very solemn Procession was made from *San Paolo Vecchio* to *Giesu*, through the principal streets of the City: which Procession exceeded all the rest in number of Pageants, Chariots and Ships, and other Erections, filled with people who represnted several things, and good Musick, accompanyed with several Dances on Foot, and many other brave devices: of all which things I speak not, because I have a printed Relation thereof by me. In the rear of the Procession was carried by many of the Fathers, dressed in their Copes, the Body of *San Francesco Sciavier*, inclos'd in a fair and rich Silver Coffin, with a Silver Canopie over it, made very gallant, and the Effigy of the Saint behind. Then came, a great Standard with the pourtraytures of the Saints, carry'd likewise by some of the Fathers; and after that, all the Crosses of their Parishes of *Salsette*, and onely one Company of the Fryers of Saint *Francis*. Of the other Religious Orders in *Goa* none appeared here; because they said they would not go in the Processions of the *Jesuits*, since the *Jesuits* went not in those of others. With this Procession, which ended about noon, ended also the solemnities for the abovesaid Canonizations.

On *February* the twenty-fifth, this day being the first Sunday of Lent this year, the *Augustine* Fathers, according to custom, made a solemn Procession, which they call *"dei Passi"*, in reference to the steps which our Lord made in his Passion, conducted to several places. They carried in Procession a Christ, with the Cross on his shoulders, and many went along disciplining and whipping themselves, being cloth'd with white sack-cloth, gallant and handsome, very gravely according to the humor of the Nation. In several places of the City certain Altars were plac'd, where the Procession stood still; and, after

some time spent in singing, the Christ turn'd backwards, representing that passage *"Conversus ad Filias Jerusalem, dixit illis, Nlite flere super me"*, etc. At which turning of the sacred Image the people, who were very numerous and fill'd the whole streets, lamented and utter'd very great cries of Devotion. At length the Procession, being come to the Church *Della Gratia*, where it ended, after the Augustine Nunns (whose Convent stands near that of the Fryers in the same Piazza) had sung a while, an Image, *"Del volto Santo"* (of our Lord's Countenance), like that at *Rome*, was shown to the people, gathere'd together in the said Piazza, from a window of one of the Bell-turrets which are on either side of the front of the said Church; and so the Solemnity ended. But the above-mention'd Altars in the streets are every Fryday during Lent adorn'd in the same manner, and visited by the people every day and also at many hours of the night; just as the Church of Saint Peter at *Rome* is visited every Fryday of March; and they call this visiting, *"Correr os Passos"*, that is going about and visiting the steps of our Lord; which serves the people during this time of Lent no less for devotion than for pastime.

On *March* the first there was also another Procession in *Goa* of the *Disciplinanti* (Flagellantes), which I went not to see; the like is made every Fryday during all Lent, and therefore I shall not stay to describe it. I believe there is no City in the world where there are more Processions than in *Goa* all the year long; and the reason is because the Religious Orders are numerous, and much more than the City needs; they are also of great authority and very rich and the People, being naturally idle and addicted to Shews, neglecting other Cares of more weight and perhaps more profitable to the Publick, readily employ themselves in these matters; which, however good as sacred ceremonies and parts of divine worship, yet in such a City as this which borders upon Enemies and is the Metropolis of a Kingdom lying in the midst of *Barbarians* and so alwayes at War, and where nothing else should be minded but Arms and Fleets, seem according to worldly Policy unprofitable and too frequent, as also so great a number of Regious and Ecclessiastical persons is burdensome to the State and prejudicial to the Militia.

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On the twenty-ninth of the same month (April) being the day of *S. Pietro Martire*[1], who, they say, was the Founder of the *Inquisition*[2] against Hereticks, the Inquisitors of Goa made a Festival before their House of the *Inquisition*[3] which is in the *Piazza* of the Cathedral and was sometimes the Palace of *Sabaio*, Prince of *Goa*, when the *Portugals* took it, whence it is still call'd la *Piazza di Sabaio*. After solemn Mass had been sung in the Church of *San Dominico*, as Vespers had been the day before, in presence of the Inquisitors, who, coming to fetch the fryers in Procession, repair'd thereunto in *Pontificalibus*, in the evening, many carreers were run on horse-back by the *Portugal* Gentry, invited purposely by the Inquisitors; and a day or two after (for this Evening was not sufficient for so many things) there was in the same *Piazza* a Hunting, or Baiting, of Bulls after the Spanish fashion; but the Beasts, being tame and spiritless, afforded little sport; so that I had not the curiosity to be present at it. This is a new Festival lately instituted by the present Inquisitors, who, I believe, will continue it yearly hereafter.

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1. Peter de Catelnau, one of the monks of *Citeaux* and of the monastery of *Fortfroide*, in Narbonnese Gaul, who was commissioned by Pope Innocent III to preach against the heresies of the Waldenses in 1203, and who was in this way the instrument for founding the Inquisition. He was assassinated in the dominions of the Count of Toulouse, and beatified in 1208.

2. The Inquisition was founded by Pope Innocent III early in the 13th century, when he appointed a commission for the persecution of the Waldenses. It was established in the Portuguese dominions by King John III in 1536.

3. The Inquisition at Goa was abolished by Royal letter in 1774, re-established under Dona Maria 1 in 1779, and finally abolished in 1812 (see Eastwick's *Handbook of Bombay*, p.225), or in 1814, according to Mr. Sandberg (*Murray's Magazine*, Nov. 1890). See also Fonseca's *Hist. Sketch of Goa*, p.219, and Capt. Marryat's tale of *The Phantom Ship*.

From

'Travels in India'

By Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

Translated from the original French edition by Dr. Valentine Ball; edited by William Crooke

The Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a famous jewel trader and intrepid traveller, spent seven days in Goa in 1641 and two months in 1648

GOA
Chapter III

Remarks upon the present condition of the town of Goa
Goa is situated in latitude 15° 32", on an island of six or seven leagues circuit, upon the river Mandavi, which two leagues farther down discharges itself into the sea. The island abounds in corn and rice, and produces numerous fruits, as mangues, ananas, figues d'Adam, and cocos (mangoes, pineapples, plantains and coconuts); but a good pippin is certainly worth more than all these fruits. All who have seen both Europe and Asia thoroughly agree with me that the port of Goa, that of Constantinople, and that of Toulon, are the three finest ports in both the continents. The town is very large, and its walls are built of fine stone. The houses, for the most part, are superbly built, this being particularly the case with the Viceroy's palace. It has numerous rooms, and in some of the halls and chambers, which are very large, there are many pictures representing each of the vessel which come from Lisbon to Goa, and those which leave Goa for Lisbon, with the names of each vessel and that of the Captain, and the number of guns with which it is armed. If the town were not so shut in by the mountains which surround it, it would without doubt be more numerously inhabited, and residence there would be more healthy

than it is. But these mountains prevent the winds from refreshing it; this is the cause of great heat. Beef and pork afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants of Goa. They have also fowls, but few pigeons, and although they live close to the sea fish is scarce. As for confectionery, they have many kinds, and eat a large quantity. Before the Dutch had overcome the power of the Portuguese in India, nothing but magnificence and wealth was to be seen at Goa, but since these late comers have deprived them of their trade in all directions, they have lost the sources of supply of their gold and silver, and have lost much of their former splendour. On my first visit to Goa I saw people who had property yielding up to 2,000 écus of income, who on my second visit came secretly in the evening to ask alms of me without abating anything of their pride, especially the women, who came in *pallankeens*, and remained at the door of the house, whilst a boy, who attended them, came to present their compliments. You sent them then what you wished, or you took it yourself when you were curious to see their faces; this happened rarely, because they cover all the head with a veil. Otherwise when one goes in person to give them charity at the door, the visitor generally offers a letter from some religious person who recommends them, and speaks of the wealth she formerly possessed, and the poverty into which she has now fallen. Thus you generally enter into conversation with the fair one, and in honour bound invite her in to partake of refreshment, which lasts sometimes till the following day.

If the Portuguese had not been occupied with guarding so many fortresses on land, and if, owing to the contempt they felt for the Dutch at first, they had not neglected their affairs, they would not be to-day reduced to so low a condition.

The Portuguese who go to India have no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope than they all become Fidalgos or gentlemen, and add Dom to the simple name of Pedro or Jeronimo by which they were known when they embarked; this is the reason why they are commonly called in derision 'Fidalgos of the Cape of Good Hope'. As they change their status so also they change their nature, and it may be said that the Portuguese dwelling in India are the most vindictive and the most jealous of their women of all people in the world. As soon as they entertain the least suspicion about their women they will, without scruple, make away with them by poison or the dagger. When they have an enemy they never forgive him. If they are of equal strength

and dare not come to a struggle, they employ their black slaves, who blindly obey their master's order to kill any one; and this is generally accomplished with the stab of a dagger, or the shot of a blunderbuss, or by felling the man with a large stick of the length of a short pike which the slaves are accustomed to carry. If it should happen that too long a time is spent in tracing the man they wish to murder, and they cannot find him in the fields or in the town, then without the slightest regard for sacred things they slay him at the altar; I have myself seen two examples of this - one at Daman, and the other at Goa. Three or four of these black slaves having perceived some persons whose lives they wanted to take attending mass in a church, discharged blunderbusses at them through the windows; without reflecting whether they might not wound others who had no part in the quarrel. It happened so at Goa, and seven men were slain near the altar, while the priest who was saying mass was seriously wounded. The law takes no cognisance of such crimes, because their authors are generally the first in the land. As for trials, they never come to an end. They are in the hands of the Kanarins, natives of the country, who practise the professions of solicitors and procurators, and no people in the world are more cunning and subtle than they are.

Chapter XV

History of Father Ephraim, Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at Goa.

The Shaikh who married the eldest of the Princesses of Golkonda was unable to induce the Rev. Father Ephraim to stay at Bhagnagar, where he offered to build him a house and church, so he gave him an ox and two servants to convey him to Masulipatam, where he expected to embark for Pegu, according to the instructions received from his Superiors. But as he could not find any vessel in which he could embark, the English managed so well that they attracted him to Madras, where they have a fort named Fort St. George, and a general office for all dependencies of the kingdom of Golkonda and the countries of Bengal and Pegu. They advised him that he would have a greater harvest to reap there than in any other part of India where he could go, and they built him a good house and a church. But in reality the English were not seeking the good of Father Ephraim so much as their own; and you must know why they wished to retain him among

them. Madras is only half a league from St. Thomé[1], a small maritime town on the Coromandel coast, fairly well built, and belonging at that time to the Portuguese.

Its trade was considerable, especially in cottons, and many artisans and merchants dwelt there, the majority of whom would have been very glad to settle with the English at Madras, but for the fact that there were opportunities at that time for the exercise of their religion in that place. But since the English built this church and kept Father Ephraim, many of the Portuguese left St. Thomé, attracted principally by the great care which this devout man took to instruct the people, preaching to them every Sunday and on all festivals, both in Portuguese and in the language of the country - a thing which was very unusual while they dwelt at St. Thomé. Father Ephraim came from Auxerre, and was a brother of M. de Chateau des Bois, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, and he possessed a happy genius for all kinds of languages, so that in a short time he acquired both English and Portuguese in perfection. The ecclesiastics of St. Thomé, observing that Father Ephraim enjoyed a high reputation, and attracted by his teaching large numbers of their flock to Madras, conceived so much jealousy of him that they resolved to ruin him; and they made use of the following means to accomplish their object:- The English and Portuguese being such close neighbours, they naturally had occasional differences, and generally both nations employed Father Ephraim to settle these, because he was a man of peace and of good sense, and knew both languages perfectly. One day the Portuguese purposely picked a quarrel and beat some English sailors, whose ship was in the St. Thomé roads. The English President thereupon demanding satisfaction for this insult, strife began to kindle between the two nations, and would have ruined all the trade of the country if the merchants on both sides had not set themselves to arrange the affair, knowing nothing of the vile plot which certain persons were weaving to catch Father Ephraim. But all the mediation of these merchants availed nothing, and by the intrigues of the Portuguese ecclesiastics, it was so managed that the Father got mixed up in the matter, became the mediator, and undertook to conduct the

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1. St. Thomé, St. Thomas's Mount, a cantonment in the Saidapet division of Chingleput District, 8 miles south of Madras city and called by the Indians Paragi malai, or 'European Hill'.

negotiations between both sides - a part which he very readily undertook. But he had no sooner entered St. Thomé than he was seized by ten or twelve officers of the Inquisition, who placed him in a small armed frigate, which at once set sail for Goa. They put irons on his feet and hands, and during a voyage of twenty-two days they never permitted him to land, although the majority of those on the frigate slept on shore nearly every night, it being the custom to sail from place to place along these coasts. On arrival at Goa, they waited till dark to land Father Ephraim and conduct him to the house of the Inquisition, for they feared lest by landing him in the daytime the people might have wind of it, and make an attempt to release a person so venerated in all that part of India. The report spread however in many directions that Father Ephraim the Capuchin was in the hands of the Inquisition, and as many people arrived daily at Surat from the Portuguese territories, we were among the first to receive the news, which amazed all the Franks residing there. Father Zenon the Capuchin, who had formerly been a companion of Father Ephraim, was most surprised and most specially annoyed; and after consulting with his friends regarding the affair, he resolved to go to Goa at the risk of himself falling into the hands of the Inquisition. It was in truth a risk; for after a man is shut up in the Inquisition, if any one has the hardihood to speak for him to the Inquisitor, or to any member of his Council, he is himself immediately placed on the Inquisition, and is regarded as more criminal than the person on whose behalf he desired to speak. Neither the Archbishop of Goa nor the Viceroy himself dare interpose, they being the only persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. But even should they do anything which gives offence, the Inquisitor and his Council write to Portugal, and, if it be so ordered by the King and the Inquisitor-General, when the answers arrive, proceedings are taken against these dignitaries, and they are remanded to Portugal.

Father Zenon was therefore not a little embarrassed, not knowing how to make the journey, as he had no friend to leave in his place nor any one to take with him, for it was then the season of contrary winds, and attacks of the Malabaris are always to be feared. He at length set out, travelling twenty-five or thirty days by land, and took as his companion M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, of whom I have spoken in my account of Persia. The Father paid his expenses to Goa, for his purse had been a long time empty, and he would never have reached Surat

but for the aid of the English and Dutch and other Franks, who gave him money at Ispahan.

On his arrival at Goa, Father Zenon was at first visited by some friends there, who, knowing the object of his journey, advised him to be careful not to open his mouth on behalf of Father Ephraim, unless he wished to be sent to keep him company in the Inquisition. Every one knows the strictness of this tribunal, and not only is it forbidden, as I have said, to speak for a prisoner, but moreover the accused is never confronted with those who give evidence against him, nor even allowed to know their names. Father Zenon perceiving that he was unable to accomplish anything at Goa, advised M. de la Boullaye to return to Surat, and entrusted to him 50 écus which he was to give at Paris to the widow of M. Forest who had died in India. Accordingly, he left for Surat by the first opportunity, and Father Zenon went straight to Madras to find out more exactly all that had passed in connection with the arrest of Father Ephraim. When he had ascertained the treachery practised upon Father Ephraim at St. Thomé, he resolved to get to the bottom of it, and without the knowledge of the English President confided his plan to the captain in command of the fort, who, like the soldiers, was much enraged at the outrage which had been perpetrated on Father Ephraim. Not only did the captain strongly approve of Father Zenon's plan but he promised to give it his support and to back him in its execution. The Father, by means of the spies whom he had placed in the country, ascertained that the Governor of St. Thomé went every Saturday, early in the morning, to say his prayers in a chapel half a league from the town, situated on a small hill dedicated to the Holy Virgin. He caused three iron gratings to be placed on the window of a small room in the convent, with two good locks on the door and as many padlocks, and having taken all these precautions he went to the captain of the fort, an Irishman of great personal bravery, who kept the promise he had made him to aid in the ambuscade which was laid for the Governor of St. Thomé. He himself headed thirty of his soldiers, and accompanying Father Zenon they all went out of the fort towards midnight and concealed themselves till daylight in a part of the mountain upon which this chapel of the Holy Virgin was situated, where they could not be seen. The Governor of St. Thomé, according to this custom, did not fail to go to the chapel shortly after sunrise, and when he got out his pallankeen and ascended the hill, which was rough, on foot, he was immediately seized by the

Irish captain and his soldiers, who emerged from the amuscade wit Father Zenon, carried him off to Madras to the convent of th Capuchins, and imprisoned him in the chamber which had bee prepared for him. The Governor, much surprised at finding himsel carried off in this manner, protested strongly to Father Zenon, anc threatened him with the resentment of the King of Portugal when h heard of this outrage against a Governor of one of his towns. Thi was his daily discourse during the time he was kept in the cell, anc Father Zenon simply replied that he believed he was much more gentl treated at Madras than Father Ephraim was in the Inquisition at Goa whither he, the Governor, had sent him; that he had only to cause the Father to be brought back, and they would replace him at the foot o the hill where he had been seized with as much right as the others had to carry off Father Ephraim. However, for five or six days the St Thomé road was crowded with people who came to beseech the English President to exercise his authority and release the Governor But the President only replied that he was not in his hands, and that after their action towards Father Ephraim he could not in commor justice compel Father Zenon to release a person who was one of the authors of the injury done to his companion. The President contended himself with asking the Father to have the goodness to permit his prisoner to dine at his table, promising to surrender him whenever he wished; this request he obtained easily, but was unable afterwards to keep his promise.

The drummer of the garrison, who was a Frenchman, and a merchant of Marseilles named Roboli, who was then in the fort, two days after the Governor of St. Thomé had entered it, offered him their services to aid him to escape, provided that they were well rewarded; this he promised them, and also that they should have a free passage on the first vessel sailing from Goa to Portugal. The agreement being made, on the following day the drummer beat the reveille at an earlier hour than usual, and with great vigour, and at the same time the merchant Roboli and the Governor, tieing sheets together, let themselves down by the corner of the bastion, which was not high. The drummer at the same time left his drum and followed them quickly, so that St. Thomé being only a good half league from Madras, they were all three inside it before anything was known of their departure. The whole population of St. Thomé made great rejoicings at the return of the Governor, and immediately dispatched a boat to

Goa to convey the news. The drummer and the merchant Roboli set sail forthwith, and when they reached Goa bearing the letters of the Governor of St. Thomé in their favour, every convent and wealthy house made them presents, and even the Viceroy himself, Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas, treated them kindly, and invited them to embark on his vessel intending to take them to Portugal with him; but all three, the Viceroy and the two Frenchmen, died at sea.

I shall say in passing that there never was a Viceroy of Goa half so rich as Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas. He possessed a quantity of diamonds - all stones of great weight, from 10 to 40 carats; two notably, which he showed me when I was at Goa. One of them was a thick stone, weighing 57 and the other $67^1/_2$ carats, both being fairly clear, of good water, and Indian cut. The report was that the Viceroy was poisoned on the vessel, and it was said that it was a just punishment for his having made away with many persons in the same manner, especially while he was Governor in the island of Ceylon. He always kept some of the most subtle poison to use when he wished his vengeance to be prompt; and having on that account made many enemies, whom the fate of those he had murdered caused to fear a similar treatment for themselves, he was one morning hung in effigy at Goa, when I was there in the year 1648.

In the meantime the imprisonment of Father Ephraim made a great sensation in Europe. M. de Château des Bois, his brother, complained of it to the Portuguese Ambassador, who, not feeling too sure of his position, wrote promptly about it to the King, his master; so that, by the first vessels which left for Goa, an order was sent that Father Ephraim should be released. The Pope also wrote saying that if he were not set free he would excommunicate all the clergy of Goa. But all these letters were of no avail, and Father Ephraim had only the King of Golkonda, who loved him and who had done all he could to induce him to remain at Bhagnagar, to thank for his liberty. The King had learnt from him some mathematics, like his son-in-law the Arab Prince, who had offered to build a house and church for the Father at his own expense. This he had afterwards done for two Augustin clerics who had come from Goa. The King was then at war with the Raja of the Province of Carnatica, and his army was close to St. Thomé; and soon therefore as he heard of the evil trick which the Portuguese had played on Father Ephraim he sent an order to Mir Jumla, the General of his troops, to lay siege to St. Thomé, and to kill and burn all

if he could not obtain a definite promise from the Governor of the place that in two months Father Ephraim would be set at liberty. A copy of the King's order was sent to the Governor, and the town was so alarmed that nothing was to be seen but boat after boat setting forth for Goa in order to urge the Viceroy to take measures for Father Ephraim's speedy release. He was accordingly set free, and messengers came to tell him, on the part of the Inquisitor, that he might leave. But although the door was open to him he refused to quit the prison, till all the clerics in Goa came in procession to bring him forth. This they promptly did, and after he came out he went to pass fifteen days in the Convent of the Capuchins, who are a kind of Recollects. I have heard Father Ephraim many times say what distressed him most during his imprisonment was to witness the ignorance of the Inquisitor and his council when they examined him, and he believed that not one of them had ever read the Holy Scriptures. They had placed him in a cell with a Maltese, who was one of the greatest scoundrels under heaven. He did not speak two words without scoffing at God, and passed all the day and a part of the night smoking tobacco, which must have been most unpleasant to Father Ephraim.

When the Inquisition seizes any person he is at once searched, and all that is found in his house in the way of furniture and effects is inventoried to be returned to him should he be found innocent. But as regards gold, silver or jewels, they are not recorded, and are never seen again, being taken to the Inquisitor for the expenses of the trial. The Rev. Father Ephraim when entering the Inquisition was searched, but there were only found, in the pocket which these monks have sewn to their cloaks in the middle of the back, a comb, an inkhorn, and some pocket handkerchiefs. The searchers forgot that the Capuchins have also a small receptacle in the mantle under the armpits, where some small requisites are carried, and Father Ephraim was not searched in that direction. This left him four or five pencils which are covered with wood lest they should be broken, and as the pencil is used you pare off the wood. These pencils afforded a resource whereby Father Ephraim was less wearied during his imprisonment than he otherwise would have been, and that, squint-eyed as he was, he went out with a vision in which there appeared to be scarcely any defect. It is the custom in the Inquisition to ask the prisoners every morning what they wish to eat that day, and it is then supplied them.

The Maltese cared for little besides tobacco, and he asked for it at the morning, noon, and night, which were the times when food was taken to them. This tobacco was all cut and packed in white paper nearly of the size of a quarter of a page, for throughout all the East tobacco in powder, and all drugs and other wares which can be so treated, are wrapped in white paper; this tends to the profit of the seller, who weighs the paper and the goods together. This is the reason why so much paper is used in Asia, and it is the principal article of trade of the people of Provence, who export theirs even to Persia. I make these remarks in reference to Father Ephraim, who carefully collected all these pieces of white paper in which the tobacco brought to the Maltese was packed, and it was upon them he wrote with his pencil his daily thoughts in prison. This was partly the cause that his sight lost much of its natural defect, and when I beheld him again I had at first some difficulty in believing that he was the same Father Ephraim who had been much squint-eyed previously, as he appeared to be so no longer. The cell where he was confined had for sole window a hole 6 inches square, with bars of iron, and this hole was so place that when Father Ephraim wished to write he could only have light on the side opposite to that where he ordinarily directed his sight; and so it was that by degrees it became right; thus he derived from this fact some advantage during his imprisonment. The Inquisitor refused either to lend him a book or give him the end of a candle, and treated him as sternly as he did a criminal who had already twice gone out of the Inquisition with a sulphur-coloured shirt and the cross of St. Andrew on the front in company to execution with those who were to die, but who had entered it for the third time. It may be said to the glory of Father Ephraim that he showed in his prison as much patience as discretion and charity after he went out of it; and whatever evil the Inquisition had done to him, he was never heard to speak ill of it, nor even to make the least complaint, much less did he ever think of writing anything about it, which would have made public many things not tending to the glory of what the Portuguese call La Sanctissima Casa. Moreover, as I have said, all those who leave the Inquisition are made to swear to say nothing of what they have seen, nor of their examination, and, without breaking their oaths, they cannot speak or write concerning it.

Father Ephraim passed fifteen days at Goa in the Convent of the Capuchins, to regain some strength, after fifteen or twenty months spent in prison, and then set out to return to Madras; when passing

Golkonda, he went to thank the King and the Arabian Prince, his son in-law, for the kindness they had shown in interesting themselves s much in procuring his freedom. The King again begged him to live a Bhagnagar, but perceiving that he wished to return to his convent a Madras, he gave him, as on the first occasion, an ox, attendants, an money for his conduct thither.[1]

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1. Ample testimony exists of the good repute in which these two French Capuchins, Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, lived in Madras. In the consultations of the Council, dated 4th April 1678, reference having been made to the troubles caused by Portuguese Popish priests, who meddled in the affairs of the town and were a cause of disturbance, it was resolved to remove some of them and to confirm the authority of Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, they being 'men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the Government of the place and the English interest.'

Again, on Monday the 12th December 1715, the President, Edward Harrison, Esq., published a categorical statement of charges made in France against these Capuchins and others, and to the first article charging them with misbehaviour, &c., he replies: 'We are obliged to declare that the Capuchin Fathers above-named, who have had the care of this Mission in the city of Madras, from the first establishment thereof to the present time, by permission of our Right Honourable Masters, have always demeaned themselves in so humble a manner, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, as to give no just cause of complaint to us their representatives; their conduct has been regular and agreeable to their profession, nor have we ever heard of or remarked any action of theirs that could occasion the least scandal to their order.' (Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times*, pp.59 and 338.)

From

'Dr. John Fryer's Account of India'

(The English physician John Fryer visited Goa around the year 1675.)

The next Morning, in the Company's Baloon of 16 Oars, with seven Peons, two English Soldiers, two Factors, and, myself, having a Competency of Arms and Ammunitions with a small Piece a head, we set Sail for Goa. We had not gone down the River, before we met two Boats full of Men for a Supply to Seva Gi (Shivaji). Near Sun-set, we reached in Oyster-Rock, on which we landed, and fed plentifully, being in their prime this cold Season; our Bargemen would frequently dive 9 or 10 Minutes, and rise with great Lumps of Oysters clodded together, as big as a Man could well carry. The next Morn, we put into the River Sal, half way to Goa: At Three in the Afternoon, we entered the Mouth of Goa River, where, in convenient Places, stand four Forts and a Block-house, not only impassable by Water, but impregnable by Land; as the Dutch proved them twelve Years together, having a Fleet riding constantly before them, and for that time, while the Monsoons permitted, making continual Assaults, but with little Success: On the left, stored with Brass Pieces, stands the Agoada, or the King's Aquaduct, running from the Top of the highest Hill to the Water side, where, for a considerable Space, is a Platform of their chiefest Ordnance; facing this is the Fort and Monastery of Nos Signior de Cabo, a pleasant as well as strong Citadel: Beyond this, in a wide but dangerous Bay (So that what Boats come in must pass the Channel under the Muzzles of the Guns) stands Marmagoun, defending that Island and Bay: By the Bar is Roys Magi on the Left, and Gasper de Dios on the Right: Before Sunset, we came to Captain Gary's House at Pangeim, over the Bar a Mile; a Seate by reason of the Healthiness of the Air chosen by the Fidalgoes, who have beautified it with their Summer-houses; the Viceroy having a Palace here, where he retires in

the Heats and time of Shipping: Betu on the other side enjoys th
same good Fortune.

The Eve to the Eve of the Natal, or Christmas, we came up th
River, adorned all along with stately Churches and Palaces, the Wat
circling with its Stream several Islets, and half-way up to the Cit
passes under a Bridge of 36 Arches of Stone; and from thence runs
Causeway of Stone two Miles in length, admitting the Flood only b
two Sluices, into Weirs or Dams made of Fish and Salt, and ends wit
three Arches more: A little beyond which is depainted on a Church,
Story of a Ship brought from Cape Bon Esperanzo, hither in one Nigh
and fixed where the Church is now built, and by that means helpin
them with Timber for the Roof, and two Crosses set up as far as th
Ship was in length; whether true or false, I ask no questions, for fear o
the Inquisition, which here is a terrible Tribunal. At Noon we came i
view of Goa, not without the sight of a many Baloons passing to and
again very swiftly, it being the greatest Pastime they have to Row
against one another; more bewitched with such outward Gallantry
than prompted on to more Beneficial Charges; their Europe Ship
lying there neglected till they rot for want of Cargo, Three grea
Carracks being ready to drop in Pieces; notwithstanding they have
small Trading Ships in the River, and against the City, beside a Carrack
under the Agoada, which they send home this Year.

The City of Goa looks well at the small distance, not being to be
seen far by reason of the adjacent Hills and windings of the River; it is
Ten Miles up the River, stands upon Seven Hills, every where Colleges,
Churches, and glorious Structures; it has Gates to it, and a Wall; it is
Modelled but rudely, many Houses disgracing it with their ruins, the
Streets interfering most confusedly: We were directed to a Tavern
against the See, the Habitation of the Archbishop of the Order of St.
Bernard; which the Clergy here mightily stomach, especially the
Jesuits, who bend not to his Authority, having a Provost of their own,
going in as great State as the Archbishop; he appears abroad in a
Sedan, and has Eight Clerico's on Foot Bare-headed, walking on each
side, beside other Attendance: The Cathedral is not often excelled by
ours at home for the bigness of the Pile; the Architectural but Plain,
though very Neat; the Altar and side Chappels filled with Images of

delicate Sculpture of our Blessed Saviour and the Virgin Mother, Gilded all over with Gold.

From thence we were brought to the College of the Dominicans, the Seat of the Inquisidor, who is always one of this Order; a magnificent Front to the Ştreet, ascending by many steps, being a huge Fabrick; the Church surpassed the Cathedral, the Pillars from top to bottom being overlaid with a Golden Wash, and on the Walls the Martyrology of their Order: In the Sacristan were Massy Silver Candlesticks, and other Vessels very Rich; the Dormitories elegantly contrived in upper and lower Walks, and the whole without Compare to others that fell in our Ken: *Erasm Vincit opibus Parthalassium tot candelabra argentea, tot statue aureae, Baptisteria, &c.* The Habit is a white Vesture with a Crotchet under a black Gown, or Cowl, like Nuns. Their College was well replenished with Devotees, and commanded a blessed Prospect.

The Paulistines enjoy the biggest of all the Monasteries at St. Roch; in it is a Library, an Hospital, and an Apothecary's Shop well furnished with Medicines, where Gasper Antonio, a Florentine, a Lay-Brother of the Order, the Author of the Goa Stones, brings them in 50,000 *Xerephins*, by that invention Annually; he is an Old Man, and almost Blind, being of great Esteem for his long practice in Physick, and therefore applied to by the most Eminent of all Ranks and Orders in this City; it is built like a Cross, and shews like a Seraglio on the Water.

We paid a Visit to the Domo of Bon Fesu, the Church an admirable Piece, the Repository of St. Xaverius, the Indian Apostle, where is a famous Tomb in Honour of him, who first spread the Gospel as far as China, and sealed it with his Martyrdom near Two hundred Years ago, leaving his Body a Miraculous Relick of his better part, it still retaining its vivid Colour and Freshness, and therefore exposed once a Year to publick view, on the Vespers of his Festival.

St. Paul's was the first Monastery of the Jesuits in Goa from whence they receive the Name of Paulistins; it is the Seat therefore of their Provost, who is Independent, and Rules *fuo Jure.*

The Jesuits are Clad in Black Gowns with a Collar and Rings, with high round Caps flat at top, Shoes but no Stockings, as few indeed, either Clergy or Laity, have here; (*Por Amor de Frisco*).

Of all Orders when they die they are Inhumed in the Habit of the order they belong to, without Coffins.

The Policy, as well as the Trade, of this place, is mostly devolved from private Persons on the Paulistins.

We went to the Convent of St. Austin's, Inhabited by that Order, who, when they go out, wear Black Gowns (girt about with a Leathern Girdle) like our Bachelors of Arts, with Black Hoods; within doors White, of the same Fashion with a Scapulary. We saw several Seminaries, or Schools, where the Students dispute in long Cloaks, or Vests.

We saw the Convent, or Church, of the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, with Cords instead of Girdles about their Middles, Sandals instead of Shoes; they wear Grey Broad brimmed Hats, as Countrymen do, as well as Cowls abroad their Habit being borrowed of the Rusticks; they touch not Money, but carry one with them that will, and are Mendicants.

The College of Carmelites is on an high Mount, prospecting the whole City; it is a fine Building; these are Begging Friars too, Eat only Fish, except in Sickness, Cloathed with a course Russet Tippet Coat and Vest, girt about with a Cord: In their Hall, where they Repast, at the upper end on the Table, is placed a Death's Head; over their Cells, Sentences denoting each Virtue, which were Wrote in Capital Letters of Gold over the Doors, as Fortitude, Patience, and the like: Here we left many Devout Old Men on their Knees, Praying Fervently, and Living Piously.

We descended from this lovely spectacle to the Spittle, where we found the Poor faring well from their Benefactors.

The forepart of their Vespers to the Natal, I spent at the King's Hospital; where their Care for the Sick is commendable, an handsome Apothecary's Shop furnishing them with Medicines: The Physicians here are great Bleeders, insomuch that they exceed often Galen's Advice *ad deliquim*, in Fevers; hardly leaving enough to feed the Currents for Circulation; of which Cruelty some complain invidiously after Recovery.

In our return we saw a Nunnery, and the Nuns at their Devotion, a Confessor through the Grates Reading Mass, and performing the Ceremonies to a Couple with Maiden Crowns on their Heads, ready to be admitted into the Virgin Society.

They had good Faces and excellent Voices; the Nunnery was called St. Monacha; here is another of St. Clara's.

Near the Palace is a Modern, but a compleat Convent of the

Theatini, where Captain Gary staid to shew us the Palace, not so Sumptuous as Convenient; passing the Guards we were usher'd into a long Gallery, hung round with the Pictures at length of all the Vice-Roy: At the upper end, was the Canopy Royal and Chair of State: upon information of our being there, we were introduced the Vice-Roy's Presence; he received us Standing, and after a little Conference, dismissed us. A Proper Man Courteous to Strangers, his Name Lewis Mendosa de Allbuquerque, newly created Marquess by the King; in this Room was another Canopy of State, with the Arms of Portugal. Coming into the Court-yard, we saw some Men in Gowns, like our Aldermen, the Emburgadors, or Council of the City, going to attend the Vice-Roy to his Devotion at the Church of Misericord, where was to be Presented a Pious Comedy; but their Representations being too tedious, and the generality making Religion the least of their business, not respecting either God or the King, they made such a rout among the Women, that we were glad to leave and Reimbark for our Lodgings.

At Night, we were alarmed by a paultry Fellow that took our House for his Sanctuary, being forced to it for his own Security; the Soldiers assuming great license for want of Pay, and the Cofferies for want of Victuals, so that every one walks the City with his naked Sword in his Hand for his own defence at Evening; and now within Doors, and in a Private House, we were forced to make our Arms our Pillows.

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Incited daily by New Wonders, I intended to inviron the Island of Goa; which is circled by High and Strong Walls, with Flankiers on every winding of the River, besides Four or Five lusty Clock-Houses, commanding the whole Work, a thing of vast Compass and Expense, striking through the heart of the Island; which is altogether near Thirty Miles in Circumference, the Wall parting it in the half: We passed as far as to the Fort of St. Lawrence, which is placed conveniently to command the Mouth of the River from Marmagoun Bay; we endeavoured farther, but Wind and Tide prevented us; wherefore thinking it more facile to enterprise it on the other side, we deferred it till another day: All the Land about Goa is divided into Islets, it lying in the heart of them: Whereupon the next day that lay fair for our Design we came over the Bar, and sailed with a favourable Wind into

Marmagoun Bay; on the right part of it were many pretty Caves, o small Bays, in one of whom rode near twenty Grobs, loaden wit Cocoa-nuts, Cair, Salt and Salt Fish. Beyond it half a League an Isle of Emanuel Lobos, fortified and maintained in despight of the State till lately reconciled.

From hence we parted to Old Goa on the main Island of Goa which, with its various Creeks and Bays, makes up the left side o Cod of the Bay, pointing out in the middle of Nos Segnior de Cabo, i lying short between Marmagoun and the Agoada, which makes th Mouth of the Bay to be reckoned from the Head lands or Out-guards from Three Leagues over, and Nos Segnior de Cabo a Commodious assistance to them both by its well-placed Ordnance, easily reaching them on either hand; but withal befriending Marmagoun, from which it is the widest, with huge Stakes of Rocks hid under Water, tha Vessels of Burthen must either seek out the Channel or Shipwreck themselves, or else force themselves on the Mouth of their Guns; a Fortunate and well-weighed Choice of a Port and Harbour. In our course, we saw the bottom of the Bay meet with the River of St. Lawrence, and a Fleet of 30 Grobs more ready to receive their Lading; the Bay is two, if not three, Leagues deep; the truly Noble Aldeas of the Fidalgos, the Temples and curiously-wrought Crosses of the Ecclesiasticks, striving on every open Strand and raising Hill to outshine one another, by their Whited Outsides, the Artificial and Delicate Adornments.

At our Landing, the Sea bestowed a kind Murmur on the yielding Sand, and cast us ashore in a Place quadrated more for still Retirement than noisy Commrece: there lying before its Banks Canoofes belonging to Fishermen, and Baloons of Pleasure only; the Segnioros minding nothing less than Merchandizing, and the Pover employing their Fish-hooks, and knitting-needles to get a Livelihood: So that I presume Old Goa need not complain for the loss of Trade, which she never had; nor lament the deprivation of Costly and Spacious Buildings, which she never wanted; but hath them rather as a Country Town (of whom she is the Dame) than City, though she might claim the Title of Mistress: her Soil is Luxurious and Campaign, and abounds with Rich Inhabitants, whose Rural Palces are immured with Groves and Hortos refreshed and cooled with Tanks and Rivulets: but always reserve a graceful Front for the Street, which are broad and cleanly at this time of Festivity, celebrating with Triumphant Arches and most Pompous

Pageants: Palenkeens pass as commonly as at Goa itself, the People as urbane, though less pestered with Drunken Comrades as Soldiers, Seamen and Ruffians: the Market place is stored with Provisions, and the Parish provided with a large Church; but nothing antiquated as I could discover, by which it is easy to judge Old Goa never was deserted, but New Goa hath stolen from hence for the sake of Traffick, for that purpose, the River is more suitable than this Bay; it may measure from one end to the other two Miles.

Abreast of it on an hanging Hill is a Sumptuous Structure of the capuchins called Sancto Pilar, the Ascent to it is by a widing Staircase cut out of the Rock, and Railed with Stone Banisters. This Order is discalceated also, and consanguineous to the Franciscans, differing only in Superiority and Austerity, their Hood is long and tapering, on their Scapular in fashion of a Sugar-loaf; to both whom are annexed a Lap-Fraternity, which wear the Mantle and Tippet, but not the Vest and Cord, neither are they shaved as the Fathers are: So that all Degrees of them in every Order are comprehended under these Three Classes, viz., Patres, Fathers; Fratres, Brothers; Juvenes, Young men: To these also belong the Sisterhood or Sancta Clara.

Thus parted we from the comely Galataea, and bent our Addresses toward the Courts of the stately Amarillis, whose High-ways were full of Travellers, Country Mansions, Villages, Churches, shady stands, and places to ease the Brawny Shoulders of the wearied Slaves: Half Way is a School, where their Cofferies (which come most from Mosambique or Bombass) are taught to sound on Trumpets and Loud Musick; a Gang of whom forced their Noise on us along the Fields. A Mile wide of the City we entered a Gate that was strong to which the Wall is contingent, that compasses the better Part of the island together with the City.

From Old Goa, it is three Miles: Within the Wall a fair Road leads to the City; a little out of the Way is erected an high-wall'd Well, and goes up Steps to a Pai of Gallows, whereon Malefactors are left hanging till they drop into Well, or the Birds prey on them.

By Night, we gain the Out-part of the City, boasting in as large a Ruin of the Moors, as their own numerous standing Fabricks; lying so in Obloquy of the hated Mahometans, who once made all stood, where the Christians have now advanced their Sacred Sign: We quartered ourselves this Evening in a Tavern kept by a Chinese, who are White, Platter-fac'd, and Little-eyed, tolerated on account of

embracing Christianity; our Baloon met us, and coming round by St. Lawrence was here before us.

Going the next Morning to the Palace-stairs, we saw their Sessions house, the bloody Prison of the Inquisition; and, in a principal Market-place, was raised an Engine a great height, at top like a Gibbet, with a Pulley, with steppings to go upon, as on a Flag staff, for the Strapado, which unhinges a Man's jints; a cruel Torture. Over against these Stairs, is an Island, where they burn (after exposing them to the Multitude) all those condemned by the Inquisitor, which are brought from the Sancto Officio dress'd up in the most horrid Shapes of Imps and Devils, and so delivered to the Executioner. As we rowed by the Powder-Mills, we saw several the Holy Office had branded with the Names of Fetisceroes, or Charmers, or in English, Wizards, released thence to work here; known by a Yellow Cope, Weed, or Garment, like our City poor Pensioners, sleeveless, with an Hole for their Neck only having a Red Cross before and behind. St. Iago, or St. James's Day, is the Day for the Aucto de Fie, when a general Gaol-Delivery is made of those unhappily intrapp'd in the Inquisition; at which time, there is a great Cavalcade to the Cathedral, and every Fidalgo appearing there is honoured with being a Patron to some of these poor Wretches; St. James being the Tutelar Saint of this City.

On whom Seva Gi minds them to invocate, having but just now wrested Pundit, the chief Strength of Visiapour from that King: on the surrender of which followed the Conquest of the Low Country beyond Carwar: And, by this means, the Diamond-Trade is intercepted, this being the greatest Mart for small Diamonds before these Incursions: And not only so, but they are straitened for Butcher's Meat, which used to come down plentifully that way; for these had rather kill a man, than suffer a Beast to be led to the Stall; and not only for Meat but Firing, they being beholden to that Country for Fuel, as well as Timber for Building. These Calamities, besides the Approach of Seva Gi's Army, make no small Distractions, especially having small Recruits of Europe-Men; so that the Padres must not only Pray but Fight, there being in the Conventsmore than in the Garisons.

In the Metropolis of the Portugals in the East-Indies, and the Residence of a Viceroy, who gives Laws to all Seculars, though he cannot execute them on the Fidalgoes in Capital Crimes, the King reserving the Definitive Sentence in such Cases to himself they are therefore sent home to be tried in Europe, by the establishment Courts of their Kingdom. The Archbishop is Supreme in Spirituals, or ought to be so. The City is a Rome in India, both for Absoluteness and Fabricks, the chiefest consisting of Churches, and Convents, or Religious Huses; though the Laity have sumptuous ones all of Stone; their Streets are paved, and cleaner than the tops of their Houses, where they do all occasions. They live with a splendid Outside, vaunting in their number of Slaves, walking under a Street of their own Umbrelloes, bare-headed, to avoid giving Distaste in not removing their Hats: They being jealous of their Honour, pardon no Affront; wherefore to ogle a Lady in a Balcony (if a Person of Quality) it is revenged with a Bocca Mortis, or to ass by a Fidalgo without due Reverence,is severely chastised; they are carried mostly in Palenkeens, and sometimes on Horseback.

The Clergy affect little of outward State, going out only Frater cum Socio, in Couples; they salute a Father by first kissing the Hem of his Garment, then begging a Benediction.

The Mass of the People are Canorein, though Portuguezed in Speech and Manners; paying great Observance to a White Man, whom, when they meet, they must give him the Way with a Cringe and Civil Salute, for fear of a Stochado.

The Women, both White and Black, are kept recluse, veiled abroad; within doors, the Richer of any Quality are hung with Jewels, and Rosaries of Gold and Silver many times double; Moneloes of Gold about thir Arms, Necklaces of Pearl about their Necks, Lockets of Diamonds in their Bodkins for their Hair, Pendants in their Ears; a thin Lungy, or Half-smock reaching to their Waste, shewing their Skin through it; over that, abroad, a close Doublet; over their Lower Parts a Pitticoat or Lungy, their Feet and Legs without Stockins, but very Rich Slippers. Amongst them some are extraordinarily featur'd and completely shap'd, though not of that coruscant Beauty our English Ladies are; and for Mien far beneath them, being nurtured up in a lowly Bashfulness, whereby they are render'd unfit for

Conversation, applying themselves wholly to Devotion and Care of the House: They sing, and play on the Lute, make Confections, pickle *Achars*, (the beśt Mango Achars coming from them), and dress Meat exquisitely, not to put the Stomach too much trouble, but such as shall digest presently; Supoes, Potages, and varieties of Stews, in little China Dishes or Plates, which they shift before you are cloy'd and at a common Entertainment alter half a dozen Modes: Their Relishing Bits have not the Fieriness of yours, yet all the pleasure you can desire; and to speak truly, I prefer their ordinary way of ordering Victuals before any others. If a Stranger dine with the Husband, and he consent to have the Wife come in a sit at Table as our Women do, there is no means of persuading her, but she will be much offended if you taste not of everything they cook. The little Children run up and down the House naked, till they begin to be old enough to be ashamed.

The finest Manchet it may be in the World is made here, as the purest Virgins Wax for Tapers. At Nerula is made the best Arach or Nepa de Goa, with which the English, on this Coast, make that enervating Liquor called *Punch* (which is Indostan for Five) from Five Ingredients; as the Physicians name their Composition Diapente; or from Four things, Diatesseron.

The way they gave Notice from the Outguards of what Ships are seen off at Sea, is after they have spread the King's Standard, to elevate so many Baskets on Polese which Sign the next appointed Watch receives, and so successively till it arrive at the City.

From

'Goa and the Blue Mountains'
or 'Six Months of Sick Leave'
by Richard F. Burton
(First published in 1851)

The English scholar and chronicler visited Goa and the Nilgiris ('the Blue Mountains') in the mid-nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

THE POPULATION OF PANJIM

The black Christians, like the whites, may be subdivided into two orders; first, the converted Hindoos; secondly, the mixed breed of European and Indian blood. Moreover, these latter have another distinction, being either Brahman Christians, as they ridiculously term themselves, on account of their descent from the Hindoo pontifical caste, or common ones. The only perceptible difference between them is, we believe, a moral one; the former are justly renowned for extraordinary deceitfulness and treachery. They consider themselves superior to the latter in point of dignity, and anciently enjoyed some peculiar privileges, such as the right of belonging to the orders of the *Theatins*, or regular clerks, and Saint Philip Nerius. But in manners, appearance, customs and education, they exactly resemble the mass of the community.

The Mestici, or mixed breed, composes the great mass of society at Goa; it includes all classes, from the cook to the government official. In 1835 one of them rose to the highest post of dignity, but his political career was curt and remarkably unsuccessful. Some half-castes travel in Europe, a great many migrate to Bombay for service and commerce, but the major part stays at Goa to stock professions, and support the honour of the family. It would be, we believe, difficult to find in Asia

an uglier or more degraded looking race than that which we are now describing. The forehead is low and flat, the eyes small, quick and restless; there is a mixture of sensuality and cunning about the region of the mouth, and a development of the lower part of the face which are truly unprepossessing, not to say revolting. Their figures are short and small, with concave chests, the usual calfless Indian leg, and a remarkable want of muscularity. In personal attractions the fair sex is little superior to the other. During the whole period of our stay at Goa we scarcely ever saw a pretty half-caste girl. At the same time we must confess that it is difficult to pronounce judgement upon this point, as women of good mixed family do not appear before casual visitors. And this is of course deemed a sign of superior modesty and chastity, for the black Christians, Asiatically enough, believe it impossible for a female to converse with a strange man and yet be virtuous. The dark ladies affect the old Portuguese costume...; a few of the wealthiest dress like Europeans. Their education is purposely neglected - a little reading of their vernacular tongue, with the Ave and other prayers in general use, dancing, embroidery, and making sweetmeats, are considered *satis superque* in the way of accomplishments. Of late years, a girls' school has been established by order of government at Panjim, but a single place of the kind is scarcely likely to affect the mass of the community. The life led by the fair sex at Goa must be, one would think, a dull one. Domestic occupations, smoking, a little visiting, and going to church, especially on the *ferie*, or festivals, lying in bed, sitting *en deshabille*, riding about in a mancheel, and an occasional dance - such are the blunt weapons with which they attack Time. They marry early, begin to have a family probably at thirteen, are old women at twenty-two, and decrepit at thirty-five. Like Indians generally, they appear to be defective in amativeness, abundant in philopregenitiveness, and therefore not much addicted to intrigues. At the same time we must record the fact, that the present archbishop has been obliged to issue an order forbidding nocturnal processions, which, as they were always crowded with lady devotees, gave rise to certain obstinate scandals.

The mongrel men dress as Europeans, but the quantity of clothing diminishes with the wearer's rank. Some of the lower orders, especially in the country, affect a full-dress costume, consisting in toto, of a cloth jacket and black silk knee breeches. Even the highest almost always wear coloured clothes, as, by so doing, the washerman is less required.

They are intolerably dirty and disagreeable:- verily cleanliness ought to be made an article of faith in the East. They are fond of spirituous liquors, and seldom drink, except honestly for the purpose of intoxication. As regards living, they follow the example of their white fellow-subjects in all points, except that they eat more rice and less meat. Their characters may be briefly described as passionate and cowardly, jealous and revengeful, with more of the vices than the virtues belonging to the two races from which they are descended. In early youth, especially before arriving at years of puberty, they evince a remarkable acuteness of mind, and facility in acquiring knowledge. They are equally quick at learning languages, and the lower branches of mathematical study, but they seem unable to obtain any results from their acquirements. Goa cannot boast of ever having produced a single eminent literato, or even a second-rate poet. To sum up in a few words, the mental and bodily development of this class are remarkable only as being a strange *mélange* of European and Asiatic peculiarities, of antiquated civilization and modern barbarism.

We before alluded to the deep-rooted antipathy between the black and the white population: the feeling of the former towards an Englishman is one of dislike not unmingled with fear. Should Portugal ever doom her now worse than useless colony to form part payment of her debts, their fate would be rather a hard one. Considering the wide spread of perhaps too liberal opinions concerning the race quaintly designated as "God's images carved in ebony", they might fare respectably as regards public estimation, but scarcely well enough to satify their inordinate ambition. It is sufficiently amusing to hear a young gentleman, whose appearance, manners, and colour fit him admirably to become a band-boy to some Sepoy corps, talk of visiting Bombay, with letters of introduction to the Governor and Commander-in-chief. Still more diverting it is when you know that the same character would invariably deduct a perquisite from the rent of any house he may have procured, or boat hired for a stranger. Yet at the same time it is hard for a man who speaks a little English, French, Latin and Portuguese to become the lower clerk of some office on the paltry pay of 70£ per annum; not is it agreeable for an individual who has just finished his course of mathematics, medicine, and philosophy to sink into the lowly position of an assistant apothecary in the hospital of a native regiment. No wonder that the black Indo-Portuguese is an utter radical; he has gained much by Constitution,

the "dwarfish demon" which sets everybody by the ears at Goa. Hence it is that he will take the first opportunity in conversation with a foreigner to extol Lusitanian liberty to the skies, abuse English tyranny over, and insolence to, their unhappy Indian subjects, and descant delightedly upon the probability of an immediate crash in our Eastern empire. And, as might be expected, although poverty sends forth thousands of black Portuguese to earn money in foreign lands, they prefer the smallest competence at home, where equality allows them to indulge in a favourite independence of manner utterly at variance with our Anglo-Indian notions concerning the proper demeanour of a native towrds a European.

The native Christian is originally a converted Hindoo, usually of the lower castes; and though he has changed for centuries his manners, dress, and religion, he retains to a wonderful extent the ideas, prejudices, and superstitions of his ancient state. The learned *griff,* Bishop Heber, in theorizing upon the probable complexion of our First Father, makes a remark about these people, so curiously erronous, that it deserves to be mentioned. "The Portuguese have, during a three hundred years' residence in India, become as black as Caffres; surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European." Climate in this case had nothing whatever to do with the change of colour. And if it had, we might instance as an argument against the universality of such atmospheric action, the Parsee, who, though he has been settled in the tropical lands of India for more than double three hundred years, is still, in appearance, complexion, voice, and manners, as complete an Iranian as when he first fled from his native mountains. But this is *par parenthèse.*

The native Christians of Goa always shave the head; they cultivate an apology for a whisker, but never allow the beard or mustachios to grow. Their dress is scanty in the extreme, often consisting only of a dirty rag, worn about the waist, and their ornaments, a string of beads round the neck. The women are equally badly clothed: the single long piece of cotton, called in India a saree, is their whole attire, consequently the bosom is unsupported and uncovered. This race is decidedly the lowest in the scale of civilized humanity we have yet seen. In appearance they are short, heavy, meagre, and very dark; their features are uncomely in the extreme; they are dirtier than Pariahs,

and abound in cutaneous diseases. They live principally on fish and rice, with pork and fruit when they can afford such luxuries. Meat as well as bread is holiday diet; clarified butter, rice, water, curry, and cocoa-nut milk are every-day food.

These people are said to be short lived, the result of hard labour, early marriages, and innnutritious food. We scarcely ever saw a man that looked fifty. In disposition they resemble the half-castes, but they are even more deficient in spirit, and quarrelsome withal, than their "whitey-brown" brethren. All their knowledge is religious, and consists only of a few prayers in corrupt Mahratta, taught them by their parents or the priest; these they carefully repeat three times *per diem* - at dawn, in the afternoon, and before retiring to rest. Loudness of voice and a very Puritanical snuffle being *sine qua none* in their devotional exercises, the neighbourhood of a pious family is anything but pleasant. Their superiority to the heathen around them consists in eating pork, drinking toddy to excess, shaving the face, never washing, and a conviction that they are going to paradise, whereas all other religionists are emphatically not. They are employed as sepoys, porters, fishermen, seamen, labourers, mancheel bearers, workmen and servants, and their improvident indolence renders the necessity of hard labour at times imperative. The carpenters, farriers, and other trades, not only ask an exorbitant sum for working, but also, instead of waiting on the employer, scarcely ever fail to keep him waiting for them. For instance, on Monday you wanted a farrier, and sent for him. He politely replied that he was occupied at the moment, but would call at his earliest convenience. This, if you keep up a running fire of messages, will probably be about the next Saturday.

The visitor will not find at Goa that number and variety of heathen castes which bewilder his mind at Bombay. The capital of Portuguese India now stands so low amongst the cities of Asia that few or no inducements are offered to the merchant and the trader, who formerly crowded her ports. The Turk, the Arab, and the Persian have left them for a wealthier mart, and the only strangers are a few Englishmen who pass through the place to visit its monuments of antiquity.

The Moslem population at Panjim scarcely amounts to a thousand. They have no place of worship, although their religion is now, like all others, tolerated. The distinctive mark of the Faithful is the long beard. They appear superior beings by the side of the degenerate native Christians.

Next to the Christians, the Hindoos are the most numerous portio of the Community.. They are held in the highest possible esteem an consideration, and no office unconnected with religion is closed t them. This fact may account for the admirable ease and freedom o manner prevalent amongst them. The Gentoo will enter your roor with his slippers on, sit down after shaking hands as if the actio were a matter of course, chew his betel, and squirt the scarlet juice a over the floor, in a word, make himself as offensive as you can conceiv But at Goa all men are equal. Moreover, the heathens may be seen i Christian churches, with covered feet, pointing at, putting question concening, and criticising the images with the same quite-at-hom *nonchalance* with which they would wander through the porticoes c Dwarka or the pagodas of Aboo. And these men's fathers, in the goo old times of Goa, were not allowed ever to burn their dead in the lanc

In appearance the Hindoos are of a fair, or rather a light yellov complexion. Some of the women are by no means deficient in persona charms, and the men generally surpass in size and strength the presen descendants of the Portuguese heroes. They wear the mustachio, bu not the beard, and dress in the long cotton coat, with the cloth wounc round the waist, very much the same as in Bombay. The head however, is usually covered with a small red velvet skullcap, insteac of a turban. The female attire is the saree, with the long-armed bodic beneath it; their ornaments are numerous; and their caste is denotec by a round spot of kunkun, or vermilion, upon the forehead betweer the eyebrows.

As usual among Hindoos, the pagans at Goa are divided into a number of sub-castes. In the Brahmans we find two great subdivisions the Sashteekar, or inhabitants of Salsette, and the Bardeskar, or people of Bardes. The former is confessedly superior to the latter. Both families will eat together, but they do not intermarry. Besides these two, there are a few of the Chitpawan, Sinart, Kararee and Waishnau castes of the pontifical order.

The Brahmans always wear the tika, or sectarian mark, perpendicularly, to distinguish them from the Sonars, or Goldsmiths, who place it horizontally on the forehead. They are but superficially educated, as few of them know Sanscrit, and these few not well. All read and write Mahratta fluently, but they speak the inharmonious Concanee dialect.

Next to the Brahmans, and resembling them in personal

appearance, are the Banyans, or traders. They seem to be a very thriving portion of the population, and live in great comfort, if not luxury.

The Shudra, or servile class of Hindus, is, of course, by far the most numerous; it contains many varieties, such as Bhandan (toddy-makers), Koonbee (potters), Hajjam (barbers), etc.

Of mixed castes we find the goldsmith, who is descended from a Brahman father and servile mother, and the Kunchanee, or *Etuign*, whose maternal parent is always a Maharatta woman, whatever the other progenitor may chance to be. The outcastes are principally Chamars, or tanners, and Parwars (Pariahs).

These Hindoos very rarely become Christians, now that fire and steel, the dungeon and the rack, the rice-pot and the rupee, are not allowed to play the persuasive part in the good work formerly assigned to them. Indeed, we think that conversion of the heathen is almost more common in British than in Portuguese India, the natural result of being able to pay the proselytes more liberally. When such an event does occur at Goa, it is celebrated at a church in the north side of the creek, opposite Panjim, with all the pomp and ceremony due to the importance of spoiling a good Gentoo by making a bad Christian of him.

We were amused to witness on one occasion a proof of the high importance attached to Hindoo opinion in this part of the world. Outside the church of St. Agnes, in a little chapel, stood one of the lowest orders of black priests, lecturing a host of naked, squatting, smoking and chattering auditors. Curiosity induced us to venture nearer, and we then discovered that the theme was a rather imaginative account of the birth and life of the Redeemer. Presently a group of loitering Gentoos, who had been strolling about the church, came up and stood by our side.

The effect of their appearance upon his Reverence's discourse was remarkable, as may be judged from the peroration, which was very much in these words:-

"You must remember, sons, that the *avatár*, or incarnation of your blessed Lord, was in the form of a rajah, who ruled millions of men. He was truly great and powerful; he rode the largest elephant ever trapped; he smoked a hookah of gold, and when he went to war he led an army the like of which for courage, numbers, and weapons was never seen before. He would have conquered the whole world,

from Portugal to China, had he not been restrained by humility. But on the last day, when he shall appear even in greater state than before he will lead us his people to most glorious and universal victory."

When the sermon concluded, and the listeners had wandered away in different directions, we walked up to his Reverence and asked him if he had ever read the Gospel.

"Of course."

"Then where did you find the historical picture you so graphically drew just now about the rajah-ship?"

'Where?" said the fellow, grinning and pointing to his forehead: "here, to be sure. Didn't you see those Gentoos standing by and listening to every word I was saying? A pretty thing it would have been to see the pagans laughing and sneering at us Christians because the Founder of our Blesed Faith was the son of a Burhaee (carpenter)."

Such reasoning was conclusive.

If our memory serve us aright, there is a story somewhat like the preceding in the pages of the Abbé Dubois. Such things we presume must constantly be taking place in different parts of India. On one occasion we saw an unmistakable Lakhshmi borne in procession amongst Christian images, and, if history be trusted, formerly it was common to carry as many Hindoo deities as European saints in the palanquins. On the other hand, many a Gentoo has worn a crucifix for years, with firm faith in the religious efficacy of the act, yet utterly ignorant of the nature of the symbol he was bearing and we have ourselves written many and many a charm for ladies desirous of becoming prolific, or matrons fearful of the evil eye being cast upon their offspring.

From

'An Historical Sketch of Goa'

By Denis L. Cottineau de Kloguen

The French priest, de Kloguen, visited Goa in about the year 1827.

Pangi and the Neighbouring Villages

Pangi, the residence of the Viceroy, or Governor, ever since the administration of Emanuel Saldanha de Albuqueque, Count of Ega, who governed Portuguese India, from 1758 to 1765, as we have said, is now a very handsome town, about three miles west of Goa; all the houses, well-built, and having generally one story above the ground floor, are always kept white and clean, and have the doors and window frames painted green, and several of them have balconies; the streets are pretty broad, and some are paved; the Viceroy's palace is close to the water, and it is no higher than the other houses, and has not much external appearance; but it is large and has very fine rooms in the inside, both for the lodging of the Governor, and for the different public offices; the other public buildings, are a large and fine church, with good revenues*, the custom-house, barracks, and a gaol; the number of communicants in the parish amounts to 2,000 and the number of strangers including Pagans and Mahometans, is supposed to be 6,000; so that the whole population may amount to about 9,000, besides the troops.

The village of Ribander is between Pangi and Pannely. It is much inferior to either, but has still several good houses and a large church; it is in this village that the chief civil and criminal court or tribunal of the colony is established, and which has, under its immediate jurisdiction, the whole island of Goa, and the other neighbouring islands; it receives appeals from the two other tribunals of Salsette and Bardes.

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* The Vicars of Pangi, Margao, and Mapuca, are supposed to make a total amount of 1,500 pardaos.

The village of St. Agnes, west of Pangi, is trifling. It is only remarkable for its Archiepiscopal palace, which we have already mentioned, and the artillery quarters and barracks.

The Goa Clergy

The Goa clergy are very poor... They are in general most regular and exemplary in their manners, and the performance of their functions, by which it is evident that there must have been a very great reform among them, since near a century, if the accounts, which old travellers give, of the Goa priests of their times, be not false, or at least greatly exaggerated; they now all wear the clerical robe, or cassock, and the clerical cap, and are never seen out of their houses in any other dress.

They are far from being so ignorant as the English generally before them to be. They cannot, it is true, explain the Latin poets, and high prose writers, as well as it is done at Oxford and Cambridge, and many of them perhaps cannot do it at all; but they can all explain not only their office, their philosophy and divinity, and other Latin church books, but likewise, the easy authors, as Cornelius Nepos, &c, with perhaps more facility than Englishmen in general; and they have much more facility chiefly in talking, and few among them are incapable of keeping up conversation in Latin. If some Englishmen cannot understand them, it is entirely owing to their own way of pronouncing that language, which is unintelligible to all other European nations; as for one who pronounces the Latin after the French manner, (which I do not, however, pretend to be the true pronunciation, no more than that of the Portuguese), he understands them perfectly. I have always been able to converse with all the Goa priests that I have found and we have always understood each other perfectly well; there is not the least possible doubt, that it would be the same case, if they had to speak Latin with Spaniards, Italians, Germans and even Scotchmen. Besides the Latin language, they all possess a perfect grammatical knowledge of the Portuguese, and an acquaintance with the country language, and are able to preach in both with equal ease; they know their philosophy and divinity, as well in general, as the mass of the French clergy; who have of all Catholic clergymen, been those who have escaped the reproach of ignorance, even from their enemies. But it must be owned that in history, geography, and the sciences, they are generally deficient, and know very little of the manners of other countries. As it is to be wished,

on the one hand, that they should retain their honesty and simplicity of manners, and stick firmly to all their good habits, it should be likewise desirable on the other that they should study a little history, and the manners of other nations, which would divest them of many prejudices, and persuade them that many usages may be equally good, and, perhaps, better than those of Goa, and thus render them much more interesting in society. This would also have the good effect of clearing them in the eyes of foreigners, of the accusation of total ignorance, which they are too often, but most unjustly taxed with.

We have already sufficiently spoken of the monks, or regular clergy.

Inquisition

In the course of less than fifty years, all the inhabitants of Salsette embraced Christianity, and 28 parishes were erected therein. In this same year (1560) was founded the too celebrated tribunal of the Inquisition, against which so much has been written and said. Though we are very far from justifying its proceedings, we are at the same time obliged to declare, that many falsehoods and exaggerations have been advanced respecting it. It must be owned, it is true, first, that this tribunal, both in Spain and Portugal, greatly degenerated from its original institution; secondly, that many of its forms were extremely vicious and cruel; though it might be observed at the same time, particularly, as to the tortures it inflicted, that it had them in common with all the civil tribunals existing in the time it was erected; and thirdly, that the governors, powerful men, and the corrupted part of the clergy, took too often advantage of the vicious way in which justice was administered in that tribunal, to satisfy their private vengeance and hatred, as it evident in the case of Dellon, and of several other persons whom he mentions. But, on the other hand, it must be confessed, that the cruelties of that tribunal have been greatly exaggerated; whereas, we see in the first place, that the Inquisitions, during the greatest part of the time, sincerely desired to save the lives of their prisoners, and that at every *Acto de Fe*, of the great number of the accused and supposed convicts, very few suffered death, and almost all of these were strangled before they were burnt; secondly, that the greatest care was taken of the lives, health, and cleanliness of the prisoners, at a time when all the public prisons, in almost all Christian countries, were kept in a most wretched and inhumane

state; thirdly, that the rigours of the Inquisition were never exercised but against Christians, and not even against individuals out of the Catholic communion, unless they relapsed, and that they never forced any one either to embrace Christianity or to become a Catholic.* Thus much have we said to shew our entire impartiality, but by no means to approve the institution itself, nor to excuse it from all that has been advanced against it; it is merely to correct false and unwarranted statements, which cân have no other effect than that of leading the readers into erronous opinions, and of propagating falsehood, a thing always very blameable, whatever may be the intentions of the authors of it.

Population

The whole Christian population under the Portuguese sway, and under the immediate dependence of the Governor of Goa, is reckoned to amount to 380,000, and the Pagan and Mahometans to about 100,000, making a total of 480,000; which, with the transient population, the small, but still kept up, introduction of slaves from Mosambique, and the new acquisition of *Aldeas* in the new provinces, may make in all half a million of souls.

Distinction of Classes or Castes

Although the Indians of Goa, in embracing Christianity, have not retained, like those of the Jesuit and Pondicherry Missions, all those distinctions of castes and ancient usages of Paganism, which have been considered indifferent to religion, they nevertheless keep up that distinction only in respect to marriages, which are most generally, though not always, contracted between members of the same castes; these castes may therefore be now considered as the different tribes into which the ancient Israelites were divided.

The first class or caste is that of the Europeans, or their children, born in the country, without the probable intention of remaining in it. This class is very small, and confined to the Viceroy, or Governor, and some of his Subalterns, as well as some officers of the army, a few seamen, the Archbishop, and a very few clergymen and monks, and lastly a few soldiers, who marry in the country, and whose children

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* All this is clearly proved by Dellon's own account of the Inquisition of Goa, though that very account is so often cited as a monument of shame to that tribunal.

are immediately numbered in the second or mixed class.

The second class is that called the *mistiss*, or mixed class, very much similar to that called among the English, Indo-Britons, though it has a more extensive comprehension, than that term; for it includes even natives of pure European blood, but established in the country since the first generation; these families, although considered in Portugal on the same level with Europeans, and though all *Fidalgos*, or noble men, according to the use introduced into Portuguese India from the origin, are nevertheless comprehended by the Goanese into the mixed race, because, as they say: "*If there is no mixture of blood, there is a mixture of air*"; these families, all very respectable, are not numerous. After these, come all those who are of the mixed European and Indian blood, and who are much more numerous and the greater part poor. The second class, however, is still the smallest after the pure Europeans; those descended only from European parents, though after several generations, differ very little in complexion from the Portuguese of Europe; the others have a lighter or deeper shade, according to the proportion of Indian blood they have in them.

The third class or caste, is that of the *Brahmins*; they are held in high esteem and consideration, though excluded from the greatest privileges of the Europeans and their descendants, which consists chiefly in holding the most important situations, as those of Viceroys, Governors of Subordinate Colonies, Archbishops, Deans, &c.; since, however, representatives of the colonies have been sent to the Cortes at Lisbon, Brahmins, Chardos, and even Sudras, have been admitted as candidates, and some have been elected. The Brahmins are the less numerous Indian caste, but much more numerous, indeed, than the two preceding put together.

The fourth class or caste is that of the *Chardos*, who, like the *Rajpoots* and *Parvos*, in other parts of India, pretend to be of the *Chatria*, or royal and military caste, (though many authors maintain that that caste, as well as that of the *Vaisias*, is now extinct.) This caste in the colony of Goa, is more numerous than that of the Brahmins, and held in equal estimation, though inferior with respect to rank.

The fifth class is that of the *Soodras* or *Sudras*, which, as in other parts of India, forms by far the greatest part of the population. In this colony, the Sudras are more numerous than all the other Christian inhabitants, both of the superior and inferior castes. They are not so much respected as the Brahmins and Chardos; and formerly were not

even admitted to holy orders, but that and all the other privileges of the two superior tribes, are now concealed to them, though they are not by far held in the same estimation.

The sixth class is that of the inferior Sudras, who follow the profession of fishermen and other viler occupations, called Corombis, Franzas, &c., and likewise the out-castes. They are similar to the *Parias* in the southern provinces of India, or to the coolies and other low castes in the north. They are, however, not treated with the same contempt as among the heathens; but they must remain in their own professions, and are not admitted to any place of trust whatsoever, which are held not only by the higher, but ordinary servants, who are all of the superior castes; though reduced by poverty to serve, in order to gain their livelihood.

The slaves of Mosambique may be considered as the last Christian caste. They are employed like the preceding. As to the Pagan Hindoos, it would be foreign to the plan of this sketch, to enter into any details concerning them; as their manners and distinctions of castes, are the same as those of the rest of Concan, which are sufficiently known from other English accounts.

The Mahometans, though generally every where throughout India, are in the proportion of one to ten Hindoos, are still in smaller proportion in this colony; there are besides them some few Parsees, chiefly at Pangi.

The members of the five superior tribes, very rarely marry out of their own castes, except the soldiers and some few Europeans of distinction, who may, but very rarely, enter into the bonds of matrimony with some descendants of pure European blood. It sometimes, however, happens that men of one caste take wives from the inferior ones, and the children in such cases retain the caste of their father; but never will a man of a superior caste, give his daughter in marriage to a man of an inferior one; and generally such mixed marriages take place between a man and a woman of the caste immediately following that of the man in inferiority. Except in regard to marriages, the five superior castes agree in most things; they make not the least difficulty of eating together, and of concurring in all the other circumstances of civil life; they likewise make no distinction of food whatever.

General observations on the Manners of the Goanese

All the ancient travellers expatiate, with what justice it is not easy to ascertain, on the corruption of manners of the inhabitants of Goa, on the profligacy and jealousy of the men, the no less immorality of the women, the frequency of murders, &c. It is certain that the authors of the life of St. Francis Xavier themselves, though Portuguese, give a dreadful account of the state of morals in Goa, at the arrival of that celebrated missionary, who, however, in a little time, operated a thorough change for the better, but matters may have afterwards again retaken their old way; yet, howsoever they may have been in the flourishing state of this settlement, it would be very unjust and contrary to truth, to think, that there are still remains of that ancient corruption of manners. On the contrary it would be difficult to find a community of the same number of individuals, pursuing a more regular, tranquil and moral conduct, than that of the present inhabitants of Goa; very seldom, indeed, does there happen any misconduct among the females, not only of the first respectability, but of the great majority of the population. If some of the young men behave, as too many of the other countries do, and which is difficult to suppose never to be the case in any place, they at least take great care to conceal the disorder in their conduct; quarrels are very rare, and murders, or even duels are still more so; the least regulated in their demeanours are the European soldiers who settle in the colony; except these and a few others, chiefly Europeans, I have been well assured that all, without exception, perform their annual confessions and receive their Easter Communions, a circumstance, which, whatever others may think of it, I have found in all the catholic countries I have been in, to be a very great, if not, an absolute proof of the rest of the private conduct of the people being as it should be.

There are very few rich families in this colony, and no fortune exceeds an annual income of 20,000 rupees. If there be two or three amounting to what it is all that can be expected, all the others fall far short of it, and the vast majority, even of those accounted considerable do not exceed two thousand rupees; those of one thousand are still more numerous; and the income of those families, who are deemed in easy circumstances, though not rich, amount to between five hundred and six hundred rupees. It is supposed that a quarter of a rupee, or half *Pardao*, is sufficient for the decent maintenance of a single individual; but four fifths at least of the population are truly poor and

miserable. Hence, as it is well known, a great part of all the castes, exercise the functions of servants, for which, many receive only one rupee, or at most two or three rupees a month. Many now go to Bombay, and to other parts of the Presidency where they find the exercise of their professions more profitable; the cooks, chiefly of all the Europeans and easy inhabitants at the Presidency, are almost all natives of Goa; they, however, seldom go to Bengal, Madras, or the Eastern Coast in order to keep near their native land, as much as possible they return to, visit it, some every year, some less often; many even marry in Goa, leaving their wives in the houses of their fathers-in-law, going every now then to see them, and bringing them a part of the fruit of their labour; some, who are fortunate enough, find situations in Bombay, and other stations of that part of India, as writers, and guardians of the sick in the hospitals.

The families, who remain in the colony, are given up to agriculture, or live upon their rents; they are a pretty good number exercising the profession of lawyers, and physicians; some are shop-keepers in the towns, but there are hardly any regular merchants. In every family, that can afford it, one of the boys at least, takes to the church, from indolence, which is perhaps the greatest reproach that can now be cast on the Goanese.

All the men wear the European dress, and use their black coats, much oftener than many British residents in India. It is sometimes very odd to see, in the middling class, men with cloth coats, waistcoats, short breeches, and shoes, without stockings. The poorest of the men, except the slaves, wear a shirt, jacket, and breeches, without hats or shoes. The women, in rich and easy circumstances, dress after the actual European fashion; some also of the latter, use the old Portuguese dress, consisting of a plain linen cap, long waistcoats, thick silk striped petticoats, made of those stuffs which are manufactured throughout Guzerat, and large and thick black veils over their heads, like the Mahratta Christian women, of the islands of Bombay and Salsette, which does not much differ from that of the Indians, having rings or bracelets in their ankles and wrists, and part of their legs bare. When they go to church, they wrap themselves up in a large piece of white linen as a veil and overall.

The food of the poorer sort, consists chiefly in rice, fish, plantains, other fruits, and some cakes of flour; they do not eat meat more than three or four times a year; they season their dishes with ghee, or

clarified butter, after the manner of the Indians; curry is their principal dish, and rice congee is their only morning and evening meal; cocoanut water enters in almost every thing they eat.

Rich and easy families take their breakfast between seven and eight, after hearing Mass; it now chiefly consists of tea, bread, and butter, and sometimes coffee; some, however, keep to the old way of eating rice congee; between twelve and one, dinner is taken. The riches have soup, and boiled and roast meat, and always finish by rice and curry before the desert, which consists of cakes and sweetmeats; they drink Madeira, Lisbon and other Portuguese wines; those less easy take no soup, but never omit the curry, and they drink *urraca*; they have a particular way of dressing rice, which is very much like the Turkish pilow; the use of sleeping after dinner is universal. At four they drink plain tea, some adding cakes and biscuits; the supper is taken at eight, and chiefly consists of fish curry and rice; very few eat flesh meat; they are all in general very fond of smoking, and many even among the women.

The only kind of conveyances for the rich, are palkies, or rather covered manchils and boats; as navigation can be carried on to almost every part of the colony, by means of the numerous rivers and streams.

Their only amusements consist in visits, playing at cards, and sometimes drafts and balls; the other great rendezvous, takes place only at church, on religious festivals. After the morning service, a small fair is held near the door of the church, consisting of articles of crockery, cutlery, small looking glasses, rosaries, sweetmeats and cakes; in every family there is on that day, a more plentiful and ceremonious meal.

These are the informations which I have been able to collect, concerning the history and present state of the colony of Goa.

Several European travellers visited Goa between the 16th and 19th centuries. A few held high positions in the Portuguese government, others journeyed from France, Holland, England and Italy. They were led by a sense of adventure and curiosity, the booming trade in Goa and the lure of its fabled wealth; yet others discovered avenues to woo non-believers to the Gospel. This compendium encapsulates the observations and perceptions of an intrepid crew of travellers and chroniclers.